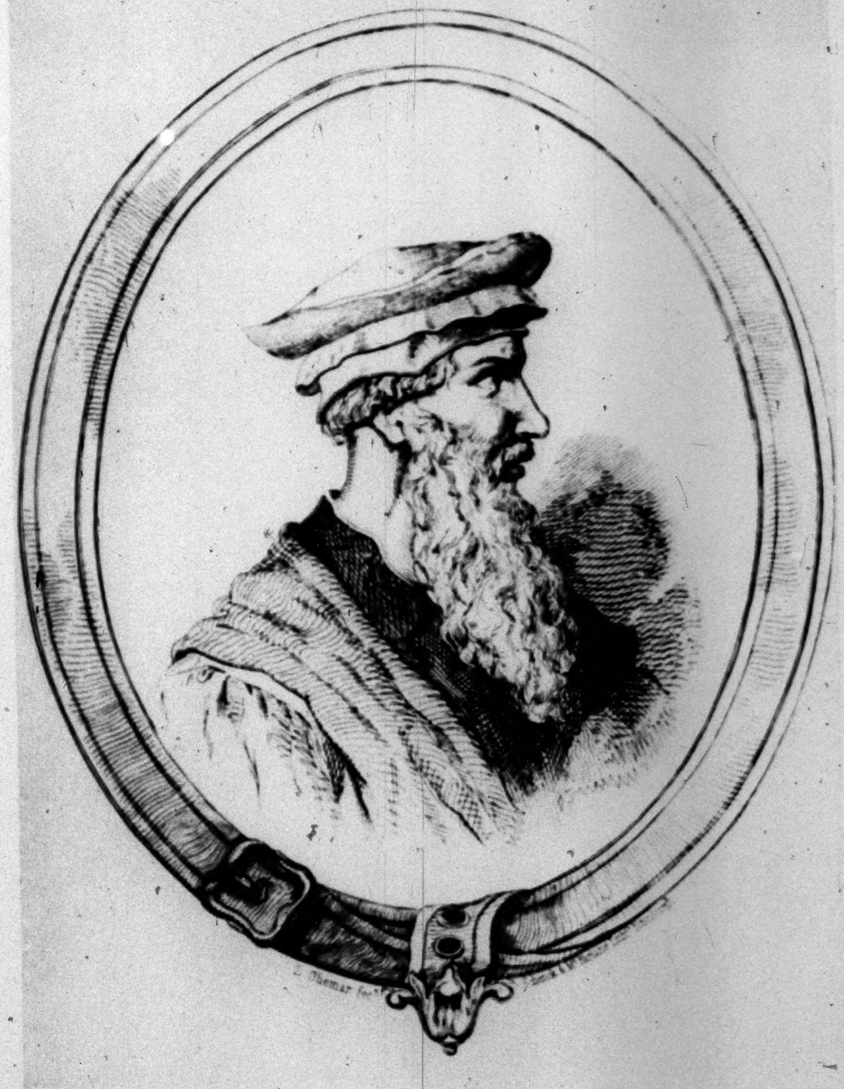
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JOHN A LASCO

JOHN A'LASCO AND THE STRANGERS' CHURCHES

By

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"When Calvin's sons from Artois' fruitful fields
Blind persecution's iron hand expels,
This fostering church maternal shelter yields.
Beneath her roof where Gospel freedom dwells,
Beneath her spacious roof, in rites divine,
Lo, various sects and various tongues unite;
In blissful league French, Germans, Britons join,
While hovering angels listen with delight."*

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*A stanza composed in honor of the place of worship granted the Strangers by Elizabeth in Canterbury Cathedral. David C.A. Agnew, _Protestant Exiles from France in the Reign of Louis XIV_, (2d ed.; London: Reeves and Turner, 1871).

PREFACE

A little known phase of the Reformation in England is the story of the Strangers' Churches, their leader and guiding spirit, and their confessional literature. It is the purpose of these pages to briefly tell that story and to make available in English their Catechism and Confession, which were written for their use by their Superintendent, John A'Lasco.

The Strangers' Churches are of importance because they were an anticipation of that which was yet to come in England, viz., the Separatist Movement and legal nonconformity, anticipating the former by a generation and the latter by more than a century. Their Superintendent also had some influence in the Edwardian Reformation. Chapter one tells of their beginnings, their fellowship, worship, ethic, and organization, and of their difficulties with the English and with heretics. Though some of these congregations yet remain today, limitations of time and space permit treatment only of the period from 1547 to 1603.

The individual mainly responsible for their existence and direction was a Polish nobleman, John A'Lasco, and his ecclesiology is yet the lode star for those churches which are in existence today. One of several foreign divines invited to England by Archbishop Cranmer, he was instrumental in securing a royal charter granting these congregations the right to independent existence, and in securing buildings for their meetings; he wrote their literature, determined their doctrine, and settled their quarrels; in addition to this, he found time to make his influence felt in the movement of the English State church from its limited Henrican reform toward the more radical practices of Geneva and Zurich. Chapter two is a sketch of his life and work. Chapter five presents his thought as it is found primarily in the Catechism and Confession and deals with the problem of his influence in the Edwardian reformation.

Chapters three and four are a translation from the Latin of his Catechism and Confession, the first such translation into English.

Expressions of appreciation are due to my committee, whose suggestions have been most helpful; to Miss Dorothy Doering, reference librarian at Drury College, Springfield, Missouri, who has cheerfully attempted to satisfy my insatiable thirst for interlibrary loans; and to my wife, who, some years ago, never suspected that she was also marrying a typewriter and a dissertation.

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CHAPTER I

THE STRANGERS' CHURCHES IN THE REIGNS OF EDWARD VI, MARY TUDOR, AND ELIZABETH I

A. Foreigners in England

There has always been a procession of foreigners to England's shores. In addition to those who came for diplomatic and political reasons, and who were accorded the privileges due to visiting dignitaries, there were also substantial numbers of merchants, who, from time to time, were considered to be beneficial to England's economy and were, thus, not only granted the usual licenses, but were given other privileges. For example, Edward I (1272-1307) granted the foreign merchants a charter, appointed for them a Justiciary in London, and gave them the right of being tried (when trial was necessary) by a jury composed of one half foreigners.

But in the period of our concern, foreigners also came to England to escape the acute religious persecution on the Continent, particularly in France and the low countries. During the third decade of the sixteenth century persecution in France was sporadic, but severe enough to cause John Calvin to seek shelter elsewhere, and to cause a trickle of emigrants to come to England, where, in 1536, forty-seven Frenchmen were naturalized as English citizens.[1] The coronation of Henry II in 1549 gave new impetus to the flight of French Protestants to England, as did the Massacre of St. Bartholomew's Day in 1572, and the alliance of France and Spain in 1585 when an attempt was made to extirpate Protestantism within their realms. The imposition of the Interim by Charles V in 1547 also caused a widespread movement among Protestants to safer territory, particularly in the low countries. The exodus from here was continued when in 1567 the Duke of Alva invaded the Netherlands. Of this the Duchess of Parma wrote Philip II that in the space of a few days more than 100,000 men had left the country with their money and goods, and that more were following daily.[1]

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[1] F.J. Smithen, Continental Protestantism and the English Reformation (London: James Clarke and Co. Ltd., 1927), p. 125.

For the number of foreigners who came to England, we must rely, for Edward's reign, upon the estimates of those who were involved in the problem, and for Elizabeth's reign, upon the several and more reliable censuses of London made by the Bishop of London, usually at the Queen's request.

Bernardino Ochino (d. 1564), born in Sienna, a former Capuchin monk and confessor to Pope Paul III, and who was cited to appear before the Inquisition in 1542 to answer for his Lutheran views, had arrived in England along with Peter Martyr, and at Cranmer's invitation, on December 20, 1547. He was an eloquent preacher and accomplished Latinist, and after being catechized by Calvin, was licensed to preach in 1545. Cranmer made him a prebendary of Canterbury. Later in his life he was accused, perhaps wrongly, of Unitarian views. A letter from him to

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[1] John Southerden Burn, The History of the French, Walloon, Dutch, and Other Foreign Protestant Refugees Settled in England, from the Reign of Henry VIII to the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes (London: Longman, Brown, Green, and Longmans, 1846), p. 4.

Wolfgang Musculus, December 23, 1548, says that there were more than five thousand Germans in London who needed a pastor, and if Musculus so wishes he may have the position, or he may lecture at Cambridge.[1] However, Martin Bucer, now situated at Cambridge, wrote to Albert Hardenberg the following year asking that he recommend someone to be the pastor for the six to eight hundred Germans who were in London.[2] Undoubtedly, Bucer's estimate is much more realistic than Ochino's. Bucer, who died at Cambridge, February 28, 1551, was an Alsatian. He entered the Dominican order at the age of fifteen. After hearing Luther at Heidelberg he was converted to Protestantism. Freed from his monastic vows in 1521, while still a priest he married a former nun in 1552, and from 1523 until 1549, he had an important and illustrious history as the Strassburg reformer and as the "ecumenicist" who labored for the unity of the Lutheran and Reformed segments of Protestantism. The Interim forced him to flee, and at Cranmer's invitation he went to England.

The reign of Mary Tudor not only stopped, but reversed, the tide of foreigners coming to England, and fleeing with them went many a native Englishman. But with Elizabeth's accession, both the native Englishmen and foreigners returned, and the foreigners continued to come throughout most of her reign. Burn, quoting Strype, says,

> It is not past eighty years ago (i.e., 1520) since there were not

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[1] _Original Letters Relative to the English Reformation written during the Reigns of King Henry VIII, King Edward VI, and Queen Mary: Chiefly from the Archives of Zurich_, Parker Society Publications, ed. Hastings Robinson (2 vols.; Cambridge: University Press, 1846), p. 336. Cited hereafter as _O. L._

[2] _Ibid._, p. 539.

> in London above twelve or sixteen low country merchants, who imported only stove pots, brushes, toys for children, and other peddlar's wares; but in less than forty years afterwards there were in London at least an hundred Netherland merchants who brought hither all the commodities which the merchants of Italy, Germany, Spain, France, and Eastland, used to bring into England.[1]

The flight of the Netherlanders from the invasion of the Duke of Alva elicited this remark from Pope Pius V, "All such as were the worst of the people resorted hither [to England], and were by her [Elizabeth] received into safe protection."[2] England was known as "Christi Asylum."

The census of strangers in London, made in 1567 by the bishop, shows that the "Nombers of all Manner of Straungers within the severall Wardes and Parisshes of the saide Cytie . . ." to be 1091, of whom 845 were "Duche" and 208 were "Frenche"--the remainder being Italians, Spaniards, Scots, Danes, and Portugese. If the suburbs of London are included, the number more than triples--3760, of whom 1252 were of a year's residence or less, and of whom 2993 were "Duche," indicating that many of these were recent refugees from Alva's invasion of the Netherlands. Added to the list of represented nationalities were Blackmoors, Greeks, and Venetians.[3]

The census figures for London for 1571-73--4631, 6603, and 7143--probably reflect the exodus from the Continent due to the Massacre of St. Bartholomew's Day and the accompanying persecution. The figure for 1573 is the highest to date, and during the next decade it dropped to 4141, rose again with the sack of Antwerp, but by 1593 stood at 4300.[1]

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[1] Burn, p. 192.

[2] Ibid., p. 5.

[3] Samuel Haynes, A Collection of State Papers relating to Affairs in the Reigns of King Henry VIII, King Edward VI, Queen Mary, and Queen Elizabeth, from the years 1542-1570, left by William Cecil, Lord Burghley (London: William Bowyer, 1740), p. 455.

It must be remembered, however, that these figures represent only the figures for London and its suburbs. Hundreds of foreigners occupied various seacoast towns and rural villages including Canterbury, Norwich, Southampton, Sandwich, Colchester, Maidstone, Rye, Glastonbury, Winchilsea, and Halstead, which, when added to the numbers in London, would make a sizable total.

The occupation of these strangers was primarily the manufacture and dyeing of cloth, and some dress making. They proved, for the most part, to be an economic asset to the communities in which they settled, though friction sometimes developed between them and the English. So numerous were they, so great was their effect on local economies, and so different was their religion, that a bit of doggerel from the era says,

> Hops, reformation, bays and beer
> Came to England all in a year.[2]

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[1] Returns of Aliens Dwelling in the City and Suburbs of London from the Reign of Henry VIII to that of James I, ed. Ernest F. Kirk and R.E.G. Kirk, Huguenot Society of London (1900), X, passim. This document of more than one thousand pages appears to be an attempt to collect all available information on the London Strangers to be found in the Public Record Office, the church records of Austin Friars, the State Papers, Domestic Series, the Lansdowne Manuscripts, the Haynes State Papers, Burn's History of Foreign Refugees, and Strype's Grindal and Annals. They contain a wealth of detail and statistics on the trades practiced by the foreigners, on population, economic matters, registers of the congregation, etc. An interesting economic and sociological story of the period could be told from these pages.

[2] Burn, p. 205.

B. The Beginnings of the Strangers' Churches

The beginnings of the Strangers' Churches, so far as details are concerned, are shrouded in the mists of history. It is certain that French, German, and Dutch Protestants were in and about London and Canterbury during the latter part of the reign of Henry VIII. But just how and when and by whom the separate congregations were begun is not known. Even Strype says, "Now I conjecture (italics mine) were the beginnings of the foreigners' church planted at Canterbury . . . ."[1] Probably the earliest such congregation of strangers was at Canterbury, and it was composed mainly of Frenchmen. Smithen puts the date of its founding in 1538[2] and lists its founder as John Utenhove. But this date is probably eight to ten years too early, and if the date is correct, the founder is not, for Utenhove was yet a Roman Catholic in 1538. Utenhove (d. 1565 in London) was a native of Ghent, fleeing in 1544 after becoming Protestant. He met Lasco through his half brother, Charles, who roomed with Erasmus during Lasco's stay in Basle. However, Burn mentions a tradition among the congregation at Canterbury that their church had begun some years prior to the reign of Edward VI, though there seems to be no documentary evidence to support this early date. Much more probable is the year 1548. In 1547, Peter Alexander of Arles had arrived in Canterbury and was made a prebendary, and Utenhove,

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[1] John Strype, Ecclesiastical Memorials Relating Chiefly to Religion and its Reformation under the Reigns of King Henry VIII, King Edward VI, and Queen Mary the First (7 vols.; London: Samuel Bagster, 1816), II, p. 127.

[2] Smithen, p. 125.

Bucer, and Valerand Poullain arrived in 1548. These men, along with the "countenance and influence of Archbishop Cranmer,"[1] were probably instrumental in gathering the congregation late in that year. Further, the investigation of Manchee[2] discovers ministers for this church only as early as 1548. The first minister was François Rivière, a Bachelor of Theology, former monk, former Master of Novices at Sorbonne, and lately minister of the French church at Strassburg.

A second dating problem with this church occurs in the reign of Elizabeth. The congregation had been dispersed during Mary's reign, and the problem arises as to the date of its reconstitution. Burn, citing Somner's Canterbury, places the date at 1561. However, Cross produces evidence that the congregation did not again exist until 1574 or 1575.[3]

The second Strangers' church was also French and was established in London just a few months after the one in Canterbury, either late in 1548 or early in 1549. A note by M. Cappel, c. 1592, testifies to this date.[4] The congregation seems to have met in the nave of the Church of the Austin Friars. The Augustine Friars and their holdings had suffered by the dissolution and spoilation of the monasteries by Henry VIII. The buildings surrounding the nave were used for storehouses by the owners, Sir William Poulett and his son, though the Crown retained title to the nave and used it to store wine and alum in 1545-46. Thus, the nave was not in the best of condition for purposes of worship, but the French probably hesitated to request improvements because of the state of war existing between England and France. The building became a source of contention between the Germans and French when the Royal Charter of July 24, 1550 granted to both groups the right to use the building. Strype mentions that the congregations quarreled, but does not mention the nature of the trouble,[1] though it was probably concerning the use of the building. John A'Lasco the newly named Superintendent of the Strangers' Churches appealed to the Crown, whereupon a lease of twenty-one years for the use of the Church of St. Anthony's Hospital in Threadneedle Street was obtained from the Dean and Canons of Windsor, October 16, 1550. This church, too, had been spoiled and was in need of repair. Representatives of the two congregations met at Lasco's home in Bow Lane and worked out the details of the agreement, which were liberal enough: the Germans would pay the cost of the repair and one half the rent, and the French would hold services at least once each year in Austin Friars to preserve their right to the joint use of it.

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[1] Strype, II, p. 127.

[2] W.H. Manchee, "Huguenot Clergy List, 1548-1916," Proceedings of the Huguenot Society of London, XI, No. 2.

[3] History of the Walloon and Huguenot Church at Canterbury, ed. Francis Cross, Publications of the Huguenot Society (1898), XV. For his arguments, which seem reasonable to me, see Chap. 2. Cross, in this work has produced an excellent history of this church through the nineteenth century.

[4] Burn, p. 25.

Due to the custom of having more than one minister for each congregation, the list of ministers is a bit confused. But it appears that in 1548-49 the ministers were Richard François (Vauville) and Richard Gallus. In 1550 the Royal Charter specifies Richard Gallus and François Rivière, who had now come from Canterbury. But it appears that Vauville also remained as a minister, for he is listed as such by both Manchee[1] and Burn,[2] and is yet minister in 1552. Vauville was a former Augustine monk from Bourges, who married Mrs. Hooper's maid in June of 1550.

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[1] John Strype, Memorials of Archbishop Cranmer (3 vols.; Oxford: T. Combe, 1848), II, p. 273.

The third church of Strangers to be formed was composed of Germans and Dutch and was also located in London. On the occasion of its four hundredth anniversary in 1950, J. Lindeboom wrote a most excellent monograph to which the reader is referred for a quite complete account.[3] Just when sufficient numbers of Germans began to appear in London we do not know, but we have already mentioned Ochino's somewhat exaggerated estimate and Bucer's more realistic one. Lindeboom speculates that as early as 1547 the Germans were meeting for worship in an Anglican church building which had been loaned to them for that purpose. Certainly, Ochino's letter to Musculus in 1548 and Bucer's letter to Hardenberg a year later indicate a desire on the part of a large number of Germans to establish regular and permanent services. In 1549 they were meeting with the French, presumably in the nave of Austin Friars. Lindeboom, citing Pijper's Utenhove, states that by

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[1] Manchee, XI, No. 2.

[2] Burn, p. 56.

[3] J. Lindeboom, Austin Friars, History of the Dutch Reformed Church in London, 1550-1950, trans. D. de Iongh (The Hague: Martin Nijhoff, 1950).

June 29, 1550, Martin Micronius was acting as the regular minister. A letter from Micronius to Bullinger dated June 4, 1550 reveals that Lasco has established a Flemish church (i.e., formally organized the group) and that Micronius is expecting to be appointed as minister. The group was also expecting to be assigned a church, but they were not sure that this would transpire.[1]

The arrival of Lasco in England seemed to precipitate action. Lasco had spent the winter of 1548-49 with Cranmer at Lambeth, knowing full well the possibilities of being forced to flee from East Frisia, where he was Superintendent, because of the Interim. It is quite probable that while he was visiting he saw the independent, though illegal, existence of the French group at Canterbury, and the French and German groups in London. Having been part of a church-state system as a Roman Catholic clergyman in Poland and as a Protestant Superintendent in East Frisia, and having learned of the state-church systems of Zurich and Geneva, in which the church occupied a more favorable position than in the former systems, it is entirely probable that he now envisaged within England Reformed communities which were both independent and legal. If this is true, then Strype's conjecture naturally follows, that during this first residence in England, Lasco requested from Cranmer, Cecil, and Somerset incorporation in England for his congregation at Emden, if they should be driven from there by the Interim, and that they receive some dissolved church or monastery in which to worship, and that he buttressed his arguments by citing the economic benefits which would accrue for England. At Yarmouth, on his return home, he sent a letter to Cecil asking him to inform Robert Legat, an Englishman residing in Emden, if anything should develop pertaining to these matters.[1]

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[1] O. L., p. 565.

Thus, when Lasco arrived for the second time, May 13, 1550, it may very well have been that his request had been carefully considered and, that, favorably so. The future bishop, John Hooper, acted as intermediary between Lasco and the Council. In Kuyper's collection of Lasco's letters there is an undated one from Lasco to Utenhove, who was now in London.[2] Kuyper places the letter in the month of June, 1550, which seems quite probable. The letter requests that the two men meet early on a given morning with the officials of the congregations, and then meet with Hooper for lunch and spend the remainder of the day conversing about church matters. Apparently Lasco and company had planned their strategy in league with Hooper, who then used his influence with the Council to obtain the desired privileges. Indeed, it appears from what seems to be "advance publicity" concerning a "cut and dried" situation that the matter had been quite settled even before Lasco arrived. In a letter from Micronius to Bullinger, May 20, 1550, just seven days after Lasco's arrival, Micronius stated that Lasco intended to remain in England, that he intended to establish a German church, and that he _is_ appointed superintendent of it.[3]

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[1] Strype, _Memorials of Archbishop Cranmer_, II, p. 271.

[2] Abraham Kuyper, _Johannis a Lasco Opera tam edita quam inedita_ (2 vols.; Amsterdam: Frederic Muller, 1866), II, p. 641.

[3] _O_. _L_., p. 560.

At any rate, on July 24, 1550 the Royal Charter was granted. It is a most unusual document. In addition to sympathizing with the exiles who had fled from their homes for the sake of religion and conscience, naming the ministers of the German and French congregations, naming Lasco as Superintendent, and granting the Church of the Austin Friars, the document establishes the superintendent and ministers and their successors as "a body corporate and politic."[1] In effect, this meant the existence of a community within a community, a community free and independent of the existing order (except, of course, that they were responsible to the Crown), a community with the privilege of ordering and directing its own life and worship without regard to the legally established order. The Charter spells this out. The body corporate and politic had the power to add to, or decrease the number of ministers. It had the power to fill vacancies as they occurred. The people were permitted to use their own religious rites and ceremonies and to exercise their own ecclesiastical discipline, even though this may not conform to Anglican practice. Notice is given to the Mayor, Sheriffs, and Aldermen of London, as well as to the Bishop of London, and to all other Archbishops, Bishops, Judges, Officers, and Ministers that they do not hinder, disturb, or vex these strangers in any way whatsoever! This meant, then, that Presbyterian church government and Reformed liturgy and discipline existed side by side with Episcopal government and Catholic liturgy and discipline, and legally so. Herein is the anticipation of that which is to come--the Separatist movement in Elizabeth's reign and legal nonconformity more than a century hence.

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[1] Lindeboom, p. 201.

Copies of this Charter are to be found not only in Lindeboom, but also in Rymer[1] and Burnet.[2] Burnet has also preserved "King Edward's Journal of his own Reign," in which there is the notation for June 29, 1550, "It was appointed that the Germans should have the Austin-Friars for their Church to have their service in, for the avoiding of all Sects of Anabaptists and such-like."[3]

That the Charter produced joy among the members of the congregation is evidenced in Utenhove's letter to Calvin. "We have been granted certain things which we had not expected, yes, we have actually been given more than we had asked for."[4] The same note is struck in a letter of Micronius to Bullinger, August 28, 1550,

> Blessed be God, who has bestowed upon England a discreet and godly King, who most diligently purifies and gathers together the church of Christ. By his favor the church that was formerly the Augustine's has been made over to the German and French foreigners. . . . The Archbishop of Canterbury, the especial patron of the foreigners, has been the chief support and promoter of our church, to the great astonishment of some. . . .[5]

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[1] Thomas Rymer, *Foedera, Conventiones, Literae et Cujuscunque Generis Acta Publica inter Reges Angliae, et Alios quovis Imperatores, Reges, Pontifices, Principes, vel Communitates, ab Ineunte Saeculo Duodecimo, viz., ab Anno 1101, ad nostra usque Tempora, Habita aut Tractata . . .* (20 vols.; London: A. and J. Churchill, 1702), XV, pp. 242ff.

[2] Gilbert Burnet, *The History of the Reformation of the Church of England* (4 vols.; London: Scott, Webster, and Geary, 1837), II, p. 283.

[3] *Ibid*.

[4] Lindeboom, p. 7.

[5] *O. L.*, pp. 567f.

Accordingly, the two congregations organized further. Micronius informed Bullinger, October 13, 1550, that he began to preach for the Germans on September 21, and that their place of meeting (they were using a church given over by the citizens of London because Austin Friars was yet being repaired) would not hold the congregation which had so greatly increased in number. A consultation concerning further organization was held, and on the fifth of October four elders were elected for the preserving of doctrine and morals among the people, one of whom was John Utenhove. On the 12th, four deacons were elected to care for the poor.[1]

Because of the poor physical condition of Austin Friars, it was decided that it should be repaired at the King's expense before it was formally transferred to its new owners. Lindeboom has given something of the history of this magnificent old building,[2] which was renamed "Jesus Temple" by the King himself. On three of the south windows was painted this diagram:

JESVS
15 50
TĒPLE

Within its crypts lie the remains of both English and Germans: Edward, brother of Richard II; Richard, Earl of Arundel; several Barons slain at Barnet field, 1471; along with Van Heythusen; Grote; Van Notten; Meyer; Kestman; and many others.

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[1] O. L., pp. 570ff.

[2] Lindeboom, pp. 11ff.

Lindeboom, citing Pijper's Utenhove and Ruytinck's Gheschiedenissen,[1] conjectures that perhaps Lasco had little to do with the obtaining of the Austin Friars.[2] This is probably correct in one sense, for both the French and Germans were meeting in it prior to Lasco's arrival in 1550. However, from the standpoint of receiving the building legally and formally, Lasco probably had much influence, as is attested by Utenhove in his introduction to Lasco's Catechism: ". . . the great benefit which was presented here to our German race, indeed to all strangers, through the petitioning of my Lord, John A'Lasco, the superintendent of us all, with respect to the procuring for the strangers the outfitted temple . . ."[3]

The Charter specified that the German congregation would have two ministers, Martin Micronius and Walter Deloene. Micronius, also known as Flanderus, was a native of Ghent and a physician by profession. Because of his Protestant convictions he fled in 1544 to Germany and eventually settled in Basle, where he met Hooper and Utenhove. He came to England in March, 1549 with Hooper who was returning from Zurich. Deloene (d. 1563), a native of Alkmaar, had been pastor at Middleburg, where, in 1540, he had published a revised Latin Testament dedicated to

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[1] Simeon Ruytinck, Caesar Calandrinus, Aemilius von Culenborgh, Gheschiedenissen ende Handelingen die Voornemelick Aengaen De Nederduytsche Natie ende Gemeynten, Wouende in Engelant ende int bysonder tot Londen, Werken der Marnix--Vereeniging, ed. J.J. Van Toorenenbergen (Utrecht: Kemink en Zoon, 1873), Serie III, Dee I. Ruytinck, pastor of the German Church from 1601 to 1620, wrote this history of the congregation from its beginnings to 1620, to which additions were made by two successors, Calandrinus and von Culenborgh.

[2] Lindeboom, pp. 5f.

[3] Kuyper, II, p. 346. Infra, p. 136.

Henry VIII. For this he received the title of "biblioscopus regis." In 1545 he established a Protestant congregation at Burges. In the Household Book of Edward we find in the list of payments for quarter wages this notation, "Item, for Gaulterus de Lenus . . . . cxvj^{s} viij^{d}."[1] When he came to England is not known, but it was not in 1539, nor did he hold the position of "biblioscopus regis" as Lindeboom suggests.[2] Otherwise, Lasco's letters to Hardenberg and Bullinger do not make sense. He wrote Hardenberg, December 12, 1550, that the German congregation was lacking a minister though they had been expecting someone from Frisia.[3] A month later, January 7, 1551, he wrote Bullinger that they now had a minister, Walter Deloene.[4] Thus, December, 1550 was probably the date of Deloene's arrival, though he had been expected since the summer of that year and thus his appointment was made in the Royal Charter.

Two other congregations yet need to be mentioned--the first an Italian congregation which met in London, the other a group of Flemish weavers settled in Glastonbury by Protector Somerset. The Italians settled mostly on the north side of London and consisted of Venetians, Florentines, Genoese, and Milanese. They were primarily merchants, dealing in silks, velvets, and damasks. The church was organized in 1550 or 1551 and was under the superintendence of Lasco and shared the

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[1] *Trevelyan Papers prior to 1558*, Camden Society Publications, ed. J. Payne Collier (1857), Vol. 67, p. 196.

[2] Lindeboom, p. 15.

[3] Kuyper, II, p. 644.

[4] *Ibid.*, p. 646.

Austin Friars with the Germans. Cranmer procured citizenship for the members of the congregation. Their minister was Michael Angelo Florio, a vituperative and bombastic man who seemed to alienate his people, and who, at least once, lapsed into immorality. We shall have occasion to look at him more closely later. The numbers of this congregation were always small, and in 1568 there were counted only fifty-seven members.

From time to time, English youth were sent to Italy for travel and study, and when they returned home they were urged to frequent the Italian church that they might keep their Italian fluent. But the complaint of Mr. Ascham is illustrative of what often happens when a youth goes away for an education. They returned, said Ascham, without those "good and sober principles" with which they left.

> These men thus Italianated abroad cannot abide our godly Italian church at home. They be not of that parish (they say); they be not of that fellowship; they like not the preacher; they cannot hear his sermons; except sometimes for company, they come hither to hear the Italian tongue naturally spoken, and not to hear God's doctrine truly preached.[1]

The church of Flemish weavers at Glastonbury was an unfortunate experiment undertaken by Somerset. He had traded the Crown the castle and Lordship of Sleaford, along with other lands and houses in Lincoln, for the lands and houses and other properties of the dissolved Abbey at Glastonbury. He then settled on this property in 1551 a group of weavers who had just been expelled from Strassburg by the Interim. Valerand Poullain, a French Walloon of Lille and graduate of the

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[1] John Strype, Annals of the Reformation and Establishment of Religion and other various occurrences in the Church of England during Queen Elizabeth's Happy Reign (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1824), II, p. 41.

University of Louvain, had been ordained a priest in 1540. Becoming a Protestant in 1544, he fled to Strassburg where he succeeded Calvin as pastor of the French Church in 1547. He had come to England in the following year and was now made pastor and superintendent of the Glastonbury community. Henry Cornish was appointed their business manager. The terms of the settlement were that Somerset would provide houses, five acres of pasture, or as much as was needed for each family to have two cows, monies with which to buy wool, and the Abbey for a workshop. But things were bleak from the first. There were but six habitable houses for the thirty-four families and ten widows who arrived, with ten more families arriving soon thereafter. The natives of the town were hostile, and Cornish proved to be "very deceitful and false to them."[1] They also contracted heavy debts.

The fall of their benefactor only worsened their plight. Cornish deprived them of their pastures; their wool supply was shut off; monies to finance the venture were no longer forthcoming; and they were forced to pawn their products. Poullain presented the Council with their predicament and found a sympathetic audience. According to a Council order, November 11, 1551, their pastures were restored; they were cleared of their debts; their houses were repaired; and a small stipend was granted them. In December of 1552, seventy of them were made denizens and granted the privileges of the guild.[2]

They, as the other Strangers' Churches, were permitted freedom of worship under the terms of the Charter. Their liturgy was not that of the London churches, but rather that of Strassburg, which Poullain published in Latin in London in 1551 under the title, *Liturgia Sacra, seu Ritus Ministerii in Ecclesia Peregrinorum Profugorum propter Evangelium Christi*. At Mary's accession the group fled with Poullain to Frankfort.

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[1] Smyth, p. 223.

[2] Strype, Ecclesiastical Memorials . . ., II, pp. 396ff.

C. Relations with the English

1. With the English Church under Edward VI

It must be said at the outset that the relationships which existed between the English and the Strangers were, for the most part, quite cordial throughout the reigns of Edward and Elizabeth. Vexations and restrictions were the exception rather than the rule. It must also be said that expressions of sympathy and pity on the part of the English clergy and government officials for the plight of these exiles were genuine.

Perhaps the best expression of the English attitude was that of Cranmer. Lambeth was open to many a foreigner, and Cranmer was a ready listener to their tales of woe, and a willing benefactor. We find Peter Alexander at Lambeth being given a prebend. Bucer, Martyr, Lasco, Utenhove, Ochino, Poullain, and Fagius all stayed with him--Bucer being given a Regius Professorship at Cambridge at not less than one hundred pounds, and Martyr being placed at Oxford with a pension of forty marks per year. Peter Martyr (d. 1562) was born in Florence and became an Augustinian at age sixteen. He studied at Padua and became an accomplished Hebraist. From 1533 he read Bucer and Zwingli and in 1542 was forced to flee because his Protestantism had become quite evident. He was made professor of theology at Strassburg and in 1547 made his way to England at Cranmer's invitation. During Mary's reign he lived in Strassburg, and in 1556 he went to Zurich as professor of Hebrew, succeeding Conrad Pellican. Ochino also received a prebend, and Fagius was made professor of Hebrew at Cambridge with a pension of one hundred pounds. Paul Fagius (d. 1549) studied under John Brentius at Heidelberg and Wolfgang Capito at Strassburg. He was schoolmaster and pastor in Swabia, pastor at Constance, and in 1544 became Capito's successor at Strassburg. We have already noted Strype's observation that there were at Canterbury in 1547-48 "divers outlandish learned and godly men," and that the French church at Canterbury was begun with Cranmer's "countenance and influence."

But if Cranmer was sympathetic to the plight of the Strangers, he also had in mind a plan of his own. All of the men whom we have just mentioned were not only in difficult circumstances on the Continent, but all of them had come to England at Cranmer's invitation. There were those who were invited who did not come, chief among whom were Melanchthon, Calvin, and Bullinger. Cranmer was indeed in favor of reformation, but he cannot be accused of being an original thinker nor an innovator. He was an omniverous reader, having digested thoroughly the fathers of the church, and invariably, when confronted with a decision, he appealed to the ancient authorities. Now, confronted with the task of reformation and having no ancient authorities to mark the way (except as a brake to keep from proceeding with undue haste), he appealed to those contemporary authorities, whose work was bearing fruit. Further, he was faced with the reconvening of the Council of Trent with its foreboding implications for Protestants. In addition to this, heresy was becoming an increasing threat to orthodoxy, and even as Protestants were persecuted by Roman Catholics, so heretics were persecuted by Protestants, and England was receiving her share of fugitive heretics. These factors all pointed to the necessity for a powerful Protestant voice, and to this end Cranmer bent his efforts. Unfortunately, he was not successful. But this desire he expressed again and again in his letters to the various reformers.

Two excerpts will suffice to illustrate his hope. The first in 1548 to Lasco,

> We are desirous of setting forth in our churches the true doctrine of God, and have no wish to adapt it to all tastes, or to deal in ambiguities; but laying aside all carnal considerations, to transmit to posterity a true and explicit form of doctrine agreeable to the rule of sacred writings; so that there may not only be set forth among all nations an illustrious testimony respecting our doctrine, delivered by the grave authority of learned and godly men, but that all posterity may have a pattern to imitate.[1]

He then proceeded to outline his plan for a council and to invite Lasco to participate. The other excerpt, a letter to Calvin in 1552, showed a note of agitation and haste, for Trent had reconvened, and the three men who could make the conference a success, Calvin, Bullinger, and Melanchthon, had, over the years, remained cool to the idea.

> Much health. As nothing tends more injuriously to the separation of the churches than heresies and disputes respecting the doctrines of religion, so nothing tends more effectually to unite the churches of God, and more powerfully to defend the fold of

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[1] O. L., p. 17.

> Christ, than the pure teaching of the gospel, and harmony of doctrine. Wherefore I have often wished, and still continue to do so, that learned and godly men, who are eminent for erudition and judgement, might meet together in some place of safety, where by taking counsel together, and comparing their respective opinions, they might handle all the heads of ecclesiastical doctrine, and hand down to posterity, under the weight of their authority, some work not only upon the subjects themselves, but upon the forms of expressing them. Our adversaries are now holding their councils at Trent for the establishment of their errors; and shall we neglect to call together a godly synod, for the refutation of error, and for restoring and propagating the truth? They are, as I am informed, making decrees respecting the worship of the host: wherefore we ought to leave no stone unturned, not only that we may guard others against this idolatry, but also that we may ourselves come to an agreement upon the doctrine of this sacrament. It cannot escape your prudence, how exceedingly the church of God has been injured by dissensions and varieties of opinion respecting this sacrament of unity; and though they are now in some measure removed, yet I could wish for an agreement in this doctrine, not only as regards the subject itself, but also with respect to the words and forms of expression. You have now my wish, about which I have also written to masters Philip Melancthon and Bullinger; and I pray you to deliberate among yourselves as to the means by which this synod can be assembled with the greatest convenience. Farewell. Lambeth, March 20, 1552.
>
> Your very dear brother in Christ,
> Thomas Cantuar.[1]

But if Cranmer was sympathetic with the Strangers and eager to have expressions of pure doctrine in England, Nicholas Ridley had an opposite spirit. Pure doctrine, yes, but not outside the episcopal system, which was part and parcel of that doctrine. Presbyterian government was neither Scriptural nor Catholic, and to give it special standing was inconceivable. Ridley probably felt much the same as Canon Dixon did when he wrote that the expression in the Charter concerning apostolic religion was meant as an exhortation to the Strangers rather than a "declaration to the world that the English Council believed that the Apostolic deposit lay with them."[1]

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[1] O. L. pp. 24f.

Ridley attempted in a number of ways to harrass the Strangers in London. First, was the protraction of the repairs on Austin Friars, making a meeting of the congregation virtually impossible. The letters of Micronius make frequent reference to the harrassment. He wrote to Bullinger, August 28, 1550, that the repairs are going slowly and that Lasco had requested the key so that they might have services on Sunday, at least. But he was informed by the Lord Treasurer, who was doing the decorating, that since the church was a gift from the king, it would not be right to hand it over in an uncompleted condition. He then asked Lasco why the Strangers did not use the Anglican liturgy since it was not repugnant to the Word of God. At the conclusion of the conversation, he stated flatly that the Strangers must either use the Anglican liturgy or disprove it from Scripture. Ridley, Micronius informed Bullinger, was behind it all, and the Lord Treasurer "is the mouthpiece of the bishops in this business."[2] In October the church had not yet been finished, and Micronius informed Bullinger that some London citizens had made available to them a church in which they might meet.[3] It was not until December 17, 1550 that the church was presented to the congregation.

The latter part of 1550 was the occasion of Hooper's controversy with King, Council, and bishops on the question of vestments. Since Hooper was the patron of the Strangers and was alienating the Council against himself with his obstinateness, Ridley probably used the occasion to procure from the Council an order which prohibited the Strangers' Churches from administering the Sacraments unless the Anglican liturgy was used.[1] Lasco was still endeavoring in the summer of the following year to have this restriction removed, but to no avail.[2] Calvin, having learned of this restriction, wrote Edward in January of 1551, gently hinting that "as far as respects the use of the sacraments and spiritual discipline, [he hopes] that the license you have been pleased to afford them will have its effect."[3] Probably in the fall of this year the question came up in the Council meeting and Cranmer spoke on behalf of the Strangers. The opposing Bishops replied that they would continue to oppose unless Cranmer would present an extended case for granting this privilege and the King would renew it by his authority.[4] The question then disappears from the correspondence of the Strangers, and it may be assumed that the privilege was granted.

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[1] R.W. Dixon, History of the Church of England from Abolition of the Roman Jurisdiction (6 vols.; London: George Routledge and Sons, 1885), III, p. 232 n.

[2] O. L., p. 569.

[3] Ibid., pp. 570ff.

Ridley, however, was not yet ready to concede defeat. In the fall of 1552 some members of the German congregation living in lesser Southwark were arrested for not attending their parish church, as the law stipulated. Lasco appealed to the Lord Chancellor and to Goodrich,

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[1] _Ibid_., p. 573.

[2] _Ibid_., p. 575.

[3] _Ibid_., p. 710.

[4] Kuyper, II, pp. 10f.

Bishop of Ely, and was referred to Cecil, who brought it before the Council. On November 4, the Council issued an order

> that the bishop of London should confer with John A'Lasco, and between them devise some good means for appeasing the disquiet lately happened in the Strangers' Church in London, upon execution of the statute for coming to church; and in the meanwhile, till the matter may be further considered, to suffer the said strangers to repair to their accustomed church, as they were wont to do.[1]

2. With the English Government

It should be evident by now that the Government was favorable to the Strangers. Both Edward and Somerset had manifested their favor. Cecil was their friend, not only in Edward's reign, but also in Elizabeth's. Even the nefarious Warwick proved to be their friend, though perhaps for reasons that were less than noble. But why should the Crown be favorable to a group of foreigners? The Charter, in essence, says that it is simply the duty of a Christian monarch so to act. It must also be allowed that the Crown expected certain economic benefits to accrue to the realm from their presence. Too, Edward's journal mentions the avoiding of all Anabaptists and sects. Did this mean that he expected the churches to control heresy within the realm, or did he mean, as Canon Dixon interprets it, to keep these Strangers from becoming Anabaptists?[2] Or was the young King actually committed to the Continental reformation, as Drysdale seems to think, so that his aim was "to have a model of an advanced Reformation scheme, to which the Church might be brought to conform, when the general mind should be the riper for it"?[1] Probably not.

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[1] Strype, Ecclesiastical Memorials . . ., II, p. 391.

[2] Dixon, III, p. 232.

At any rate, relations with the Edwardian government were good, and the Strangers welcomed the decree of 1553 which made it mandatory for any foreigner seeking English citizenship to have made a confession of his faith to the ministers of the Strangers' Churches. If this should continue for a few years, Micronius wrote to Bullinger, England would be delivered from the heresy of foreign sects.[2]

The reasonably happy lot of the Strangers was immediately reversed with the accession of Queen Mary. A proclamation was soon issued: "A multitude of evil disposed persons, being born . . . in other sundry nations,. . . flying from obeisance to their princes," some for murder, some for heresy, some for treason, and were there to escape punishment and "to dilate, plant, and sow seeds of their malicious doctrine." Therefore, all such persons, "being either bookseller, preacher, printer, or other artifice, or of whatever calling else . . . shall within twenty four days . . . avoid the realm." Otherwise, they would face imprisonment and confiscation of goods.[3] Accordingly, many of the Strangers left the country.

Lasco, Micronius, and Utenhove, and 172 other members of the

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[1] A.H. Drysdale, History of the Presbyterians in England: Their Rise, Decline, and Revival (London: Publication Committee of the Presbyterian Church of England, 1889), p. 45.

[2] O. L., p. 581.

[3] John Foxe, The Acts and Monuments of John Foxe, ed. George Townsend (8 vols.; London: Seeley, Burnside, and Seeley, 1846), VI, pp. 429f.

German congregation set sail from Gravesend on September 17, 1553 in two Danish ships--"The Moor" and "The Little Crow." But what they faced was nearly as bad as that which they left behind. The ships were separated by storm and after a month one reached Elsinore, the other, with the three leaders, arriving two weeks later. The three leaders sought out King Christian III of Denmark, only to find that he was in Jutland. When they secured an audience with him they were informed that they must leave the country immediately, and Lasco was not permitted even to return to his congregation. He and Utenhove eventually reached Emden, Micronius returning to be with the church. The congregation divided themselves to avoid suspicion, and after having been expelled from Rostock, Wismar, and Lübeck, reached Emden in the spring of the year after suffering great privation. The London French group had migrated to Wezel, and Poullain's group to Frankfort. Peter Martyr, who was first placed under house arrest and then given safe conduct, proceeded toward Strassburg, arriving late in October. In February of 1554, Peter Deloene wrote Lasco that the Strangers yet existed as a congregation, though their enemies be more numerous than the hairs on their heads. They yet have liberty to preach the Gospel, and if it is agreeable, he will remain in England, though at the peril of his life.[1] Peter Deloene is evidently the son of Walter, who is named in the Charter as minister of the German congregation. He and his father left England in March of this year under an order which gave all unnaturalized foreigners twenty-four days in which to leave. At Elizabeth's accession, Peter returned to London to minister again to the Congregation

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[1] G.C. Gorham, Gleanings of a Few Scattered Ears During the Reformation in England and of the Times Immediately Succeeding; A.D. 1533 to A.D. 1588 (London: Bell and Daldy, 1857), pp. 311f.

Having rather effectively removed the Strangers from the borders of her realm, Mary then proceeded to restrict the circulation of their writings. In a proclamation of June 13, 1555, she revived the statute of Henry VIII concerning the repressing of heresies, in which there was punishment provided for the writers and possessors of heretical books. Magistrates had the right of search and seizure, and any who printed, purveyed, or possessed the works of the following would be subject to punishment: Luther, Oecolampadius, Zwingli, Calvin, Pomeran, Lasco, Bullinger, Bucer, Melanchthon, Ochino, Erasmus, Socerius, Martry, Latimer, Barnes, Jonas, Hooper, Coverdale, Tyndale, Cranmer, William Turner, Theodore Basil, John Frith, Roy, "Hell's Chronicle," and the Book of Common Prayer.[1]

A final attempt to eliminate the remaining foreigners from her realm was made in February of 1558 when bills were submitted to Parliament "to make void letters Patent made to Frenchmen to be denizens," and "to expulse French denizens and other French persons out of the realm."[2] But Mary's death prevented this from passing.

Both Foxe and Strype, however, testify to the fact that small congregations of Protestants continued to meet in London during the reign of Mary. The largest numbered anywhere from forty to two hundred persons and had for their pastors, Master Scamler, Thomas Foule, Master

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[1] Foxe, VII, pp. 125f.

[2] Smyth, p. 226.

Rough, Master Augustine Bernher, and Master Bentham, the future bishop of Coventry and Lichfield. Their places of meeting were moved frequently to avoid discovery and were located in such places as Sir Thomas Cardine's house, the cloth workers' loft near Great Conduit in Cheapside, in a ship in Billingsgate, a copper's house in Pudden lane, or in the fields at night. Offerings were taken for "Christ's prisoners" and often amounted to ten pounds. Spies were sent by the government to check on their proceedings and once one was converted.[1] The testimony of one, Mrs. Alice Warner, says,

> that upon a Sunday, six weeks agone, a certain company of Frenchmen, Dutchmen and other strangers, and amongst them Englishmen, appearing to be young merchants, to the number of a score, resorted to her house of the King's Head at Ratcliff; requesting to have a pig roasted, and half a dozen faggots to be brent. In the meantime the said company went into a back house, where they were two sundry times. . . .

She continued that between noon and one o'clock on their first visit they read from a testament; on their second visit, a holy day, they arrived at 7:00 A.M. and again read, staying almost until noon. When they left, they asked if they might always use the back house. It was, she said, the same group both times, and they called each other brother, and took an offering which they told her would be used to help the poor. Her conversant was a Frenchman, "or some other outlandishman, because he spoke evil English."[2] Burrage concludes that these were members of the Church of England who had separated only from Roman domination. It seems, however, that the presence of foreigners would indicate a large number of Reformed Strangers in the group who had not returned to the Continent, and that under the circumstances of duress, nationality was of secondary importance to the hearing and preaching of the Word. The list of ministers, however, would indicate that the group was predominately English.

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[1] Foxe, VIII, pp. 558ff; Strype, Ecclesiastical Memorials . . ., V, pp. 271f.

[2] Champlin Burrage, The Early English Dissenters in the Light of Recent Research (1550-1641) (Cambridge: The University Press, 1912), p. 72.

It was not many weeks after the accession of Elizabeth that the Austin Friars became the scene of a somewhat ludicrous performance by two cobblers who were followed by a great crowd. It was on Christmas day, 1558, that the two, finding Austin Friars locked, broke in, leaped to the pulpit and simultaneously read and preached to their audience, "uttering a thousand ribaldries concerning the reign of the blessed memory of Queen Mary and of the Cardinal. . . . Never was there seen a finer metamorphosis than two rogues at once preaching in the same pulpit!" After this performance, they proceeded to the French church in Threadneedle Street and re-enacted the scene.[1]

When word reached the Continent that Elizabeth had succeeded Mary, many of the Strangers made ready to return. In March, 1559, the German congregation at Emden sent Antonius Asche and Dr. Dumasius to inquire of those who had remained behind. They found the situation still uncertain, but the remnants of the London congregation wanted to see Peter Deloene. In May, Hadrian Hamstead arrived from Zeeland and, gathering a congregation, began to preach, sometimes in Christ Church, sometimes at St. Margaret's, and in other places. In the meantime, Asche and Dumasius had presented to the Queen a copy of the Charter for her consideration. Utenhove, who had received from Bullinger at Frankfort letters of commendation to the Queen, now returned to England with Peter Deloene and the original Charter, August 1559. But Elizabeth was wary of having a "body corporate and politic" existing with their own superintendent, and hesitated granting the Strangers privileges identical with those they had enjoyed before. Both Collier and Strype attest[1] that the Strangers, to meet Elizabeth's objection, chose Edmund Grindal as their superintendent--the choosing of which official had been their right under the terms of the Charter. The Queen then restored to them the right to use Austin Friars, and empowered the Marquis of Winchester to make ready the building for the celebration of divine service, which building again, during Mary's reign, had served as a storehouse--this time for naval stores. The Calendar of State Papers, Domestic Series, contains an entry for December 10, 1559, which is the petition of the Strangers' Church to the Queen,[2] and a second entry for February, 1560, empowering the Marquis of Winchester to make ready Austin Friars.[3] Burn quotes a letter of Elizabeth to the Strangers from 1560:

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[1] Calendar of State Papers and Manuscripts Relating to English Affairs, Existing in the Archives and Collections of Venice, ed. Rawdon Brown and G. Cavendish Bentinck (London: Eyre and Spottiswoode, 1890), VII, p. 2.

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[1] Jeremy Collier, An Ecclesiastical History of Great Britain, Chiefly of England, from the First Planting of Christianity, to the End of Reign of King Charles the Second, ed. Francis Barham (9 vols.; London: William Straker, 1840), Vol. 6, p. 273; Strype, Annals of the Reformation . . ., I, p. 174.

[2] Calendar of State Papers, Domestic Series of the Reigns of Edward VI, Mary, and Elizabeth, 1547-1580, ed. Robert Lemon (London: Longman, Brown, Green, Longmans, and Roberts, 1856), VII, No. 62.

[3] Ibid., XI, No. 24.

> We are not ignorant that the ceremonies, etc., have been different in the various churches since the birth of Christianity--in some, the congregation prayed standing, in others, kneeling--it is nevertheless the same religion, provided their prayers are addressed to the same God. We do not despise your service, and we do not constrain you to adopt ours. We approve of your ceremonies, inasmuch as they accord best with the countries whence you come.[1]

Accordingly, the German congregation organized with Utenhove again serving as chief elder, and Peter Deloene, Hamstead, and Gotfrid Wyngius as ministers.

The French congregation seemed not to be concerned with the business of the Charter, perhaps because they were paying rent for the use of their building on Threadneedle Street. When they returned in 1560, they simply renewed the contract with the Dean and Chapter of Windsor, and began holding services as before.[2] Their minister was Nicholas Gallasius.

Throughout the first thirty years of Elizabeth's reign foreigners continued to come, and wherever they settled they began to practice their faith. Many of these churches were begun by fugitive Frenchmen and we find them at Norwich (1583), Sandwich (1586), Rye (1572), Southampton (1569), and Winchilsea (1588). We also find that the Germans continued to settle and found churches. In 1560 there were so many in Sandwich that Utenhove asked Grindal to resettle some of them in Colchester or Lynn. Two years later, Bucer, the minister of the church in Sandwich wrote the London church that he hoped some of the refugees could be moved to Colchester since Sandwich could hardly hold them. But not until 1570 was permission granted.[1] Archbishop Parker, after a visit to Sandwich, wrote to Cecil, August 27, 1563, saying that he had found the Strangers there godly, industrious and quiet, and that he had empowered their ministers to exercise ecclesiastical censure.[2]

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[1] Burn, p. 4.

[2] Zurich Letters, Comprising the Correspondence of several English Bishops and others, with some of the Helvetian Reformers during the early part of the Reign of Queen Elizabeth, Parker Society Publications, ed. Hastings Robinson (2 vols.; Cambridge: University Press, 1842), I, p. 93 n.

The original migration of Germans from Sandwich to Colchester consisted of 185 persons, representing twenty-six different trades. In two years, the number increased to 534, and in 1572 thirty-five volunteered, as part of the force of Germans from the churches of England, to aid the Prince of Orange. A portion of the overflow of Germans at Sandwich also found their way to Norwich and petitioned for a church building, January, 1565. The Duke of Norfolk, after checking with Bishop Parkhurst and the Mayor, requested that Parker grant their request, which he did, giving them the church of the Black Friars.[3] But the church at Norwich was torn by strife, which brought Parker and the High Commissioners to order, September 16, 1571, that the church "continue in such sorte as was used in the dayes of King Edwarde by the prescription of Mr. Alasco, and was practiced at the fyrste."[4] The original number to arrive were about three hundred in 1564. By 1571 they totaled more than thirty-nine hundred, with a mixture of French Walloons among them.[1]

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[1] *Register of Baptisms in the Dutch Church at Colchester from 1645 to 1728*, Publications of the Huguenot Society of London, ed. W.J.C. Moens (1905), XII. This is an excellent history of the church in Colchester.

[2] Matthew Parker, *Correspondence, Comprising letters written by and to him from A.D. 1535 to his death, A.D. 1575*, Parker Society Publications (Cambridge: University Press, 1853), p. 189.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 255.

[4] Burn, p. 199.

We find for the year 1577 a petition from the citizens of Halstead to Sir Francis Walsingham, requesting that forty families of strangers may be permitted to inhabit and dwell in Halstead and to follow their trades there.[2] (Evidently not all of the manufacturing efforts of the Strangers turned out as badly as did Somerset's experiment at Glastonbury.) A similar petition from Bishop Horn to Cecil asked permission for the merchant Strangers to settle in Southampton, which thing was desired by the Mayor and citizens. These strangers had promised to adopt no corrupt religious sect or practice.[3] Other Strangers of German and Dutch tongue settled in Thetford, Yarmouth, Hatfield Chase, and Thorney.

One church yet needs to be mentioned--the formation of the Spanish Congregation in London. Many Spaniards had frequented the realm since the days of Henry VIII, but persecution drove them to England in increasing numbers during the reign of Edward. Strype mentions that, for the year 1560, he found a congregation of Spaniards in

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[1] W.F. Creeny, "The French Church, or St. Mary the Little, Norwich," Proceedings of the Huguenot Society of London (1888), II, No. 4. For a more complete account of the Strangers at Norwich, see: W.J.C. Moens, The Walloons and their Church at Norwich, 1565-1832 (Lymington: 1888).

[2] Calendar of State Papers, Domestic Series . . ., ed. Lemon, CXX, No. 22.

[3] Ibid., XLIV, No. 8.

London with Cassiodorus being their minister.[1] In this year, Cassiodorus petitioned Grindal's secretary for a church building, lest they be accused (since they were meeting in the homes of the members) of holding doctrines and engaging in practices which were not in accord with the orthodox position.[2] Whether the building was ever granted is not known, but the congregation continued to exist for some years.

In the mid-1560's the Crown became concerned with the numbers of foreigners who were inhabiting the realm, probably because they were fleeing from the areas governed by Spain. We have definite information that Philip II requested, in 1566, that a survey be taken of his subjects who had fled to England. The Crown complied and Grindal carried out the survey. From the Dutch church he received a list of 310 names of persons who had lived in either Brabant or Flanders, as well as a statement concerning the character of each. Strype has published this list in his Grindal, Appendix XV. The Lansdowne Manuscripts list for the year 1567 an account of foreigners in the several parts of London; and a list of Articles of Inquiry used in searching out foreigners in the city and suburbs of London.[3]

For the year 1575 an item of interest appears--an alleged attempt at treason by the German Church. A letter from an unknown informant, who professed to have gotten his information from Emanuel Demetre, a former member of the German church, became public. This letter, addressed to the Earl of Leicester, stated that the German church had entered an alliance against England and Flanders. They, with the help of the Puritans, were to take England and remove all Papists, and that shortly. Certainly to be executed were the Earls of Arundel and Leicester, Sir John Crofts, Mr. Hatton, and, of course, the Queen. Some of the nobility and Council had assured them of help. Once England was taken, they intended to invade the Normans. The letter was so preposterous that it was lightly dismissed.[1] As evidence of their loyalty, it might be noted that the Strangers of London subscribed 4,900 pounds in response to a loan which Elizabeth charged against the city in 1588. And as evidence of Elizabeth's good will, she, in 1591, at the request of the German church, addressed a letter to the King of Poland concerning the Flemish who had settled there and were in danger of losing their religious freedom, requesting that he guarantee them this privilege.[2]

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[1] John Strype, The History of the Life and Acts of the Most Reverend Father in God, Edmund Grindal (London: John Hartley, 1710), p. 47.

[2] A Catalogue of Lansdowne Manuscripts, in British Museum (Printed by Command of his Majesty King George III, 1819), No. 4, p. 46.

[3] Ibid., No. 10, Secs. 5 and 46.

3. With the English Church under Elizabeth

The relationship of the Strangers with the English Church and clergy during Elizabeth's reign was quite good. Indeed, this relationship might well be entitled, "The Superintendency of Grindal," for he was their benefactor and friend from the beginning. During the months in which the returned Strangers were petitioning the Queen for a renewal of their Charter, Grindal "was their great advocate and Friend at Court."[1] He was also influential with the Dean and Canons of Windsor in the renewal of the contract with the French for the Church in Threadneedle Street. And, when the French returned to London, bearing letters from Calvin requesting that they might have a minister, Grindal wrote Calvin suggesting that he send someone. Accordingly, Nicholas Gallasius arrived in June, 1560. While he was well received by the bishop, some of the elders of the congregation were not too happy with his arrival. Gallasius thereupon requested that the bishop govern them by his authority, and received word from him that he would vest Gallasius with the necessary authority and stand by only to help where needed. But the climate of England was taking its toll of Gallasius' health and in mid-1563 he returned to Geneva. Grindal informed Calvin that he left the French church in a state of good order and quietness.[2] He was succeeded by John Cousins.

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[1] John Strype, The Life and Acts of Matthew Parker (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1871). The letter is printed in Appx. XCVIII.

[2] Zurich Letters . . ., II, pp. 320ff.

Grindal was also called upon from time to time to settle quarrels and matters of doctrine for the Strangers. He received in 1560 an anonymous letter in Dutch asking that a group of exiles be permitted to settle in England and freely exercise their religion. Grindal sent a copy to the ministers of the German congregation saying that he suspected Hamstead and the Anabaptists.[1] Accordingly, the views of Hamstead were examined, and while he denied that he was an Anabaptist, he was found to be too tolerant. The Anabaptist tenet that Jesus did not receive his flesh from the virgin but brought it with him from heaven cannot be disproved from Scripture, he said. Further, if the Anabaptists trusted Christ as their mediator they were indeed Christians. In November, he was censured by Grindal, which action was protested by Hamstead's followers. In April of the next year, Grindal excommunicated the entire group. All but Hamstead were immediately repentant. The matter dragged on and in July, 1662, Grindal offered to restore Hamstead if he acknowledged his error, but again he refused. August 21, he was ordered to leave England within fifteen days upon pain of execution.

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[1] Strype, The History of . . . Grindal, p. 42.

[2] Zurich Letters . . ., II, p. 96.

Another quarrel centered upon the person of Corranus, who had succeeded Cassiodorus as minister of the Spanish congregation, and involved both Cousins, minister to the French, and Jerome, minister to the Italians. The controversy with the French was, as Grindal stated it, a question of manners. In 1563, Corranus had written to Cassiodorus, who had fled England to escape charges of immorality. The French church had filed the letter, and in 1568, when Corranus arrived in England, he was confronted with his correspondence with a heretical and immoral man, and was asked to make a statement of his own views. This, he resented, and through speech and the publication of an "Apology," he abused and accused Cousins and the French. The incident with Jerome was a question of doctrine. Corranus had published De Operibus Dei without having it examined by his colleagues. When Jerome read it, he discovered what he thought were Pelagian teachings. Immediately, he wrote to Theodore Beza, Calvin's successor at Geneva, who in turn informed Grindal. With both quarrels going on at the same time, the turmoil engaged the attention of Cecil, who wished to know what it was all about. Grindal replied that the first was merely a question of manners, the second, a question of doctrine, which was more serious, and that as soon as he examined the content of Corranus' publication, he would decide his fate.[1]

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[1] Strype, The History of . . . Grindal, p. 43. For a rather complete account of the Hamstead case, see: Lindeboom, pp. 41ff.

As one reads Strype's Grindal, one becomes impressed with the sincerity, compassion, wisdom, and tolerant spirit of the man. Therefore, one discovers that he is continuously engaged with correspondence on behalf of these who were persecuted for their faith, even those on the Continent. In 1561, the German church brought to his attention the plight of some Flemings who had settled in Frankfort, and who were now about to be persecuted because they could not subscribe to the Augsburg Confession. Recalling the days of his own exile in that city during the reign of Mary, he took up his pen and dispatched a letter to the magistrates of that city asking that they cease to trouble this church. In 1560 and again in 1566, two very similar incidents took place. In each case, Dutch merchants and members of the German church in London were in Flanders for business purposes, and were seized as heretics by Spanish authorities. The German congregation appealed to Grindal to do what he could, and Grindal promptly wrote to the authorities explaining the situation. In the earlier case, the Spanish claimed that the letters were Lutheran forgeries and proceeded to hang and burn the merchants. In the later case, Strype does not inform us as to the outcome.

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[1] Edmund Grindal, Remains, Parker Society Publications, ed. William Nicholson (Cambridge: University Press, 1851), I, pp. 309ff.

Again in 1563 and in 1568, two similar incidents take place. In the earlier year, the French and English were at war, and each had seized the other's assets in their respective territories. The English did not take the trouble to distinguish between French assets and the meager goods of French Protestant refugees, which worked considerable hardship upon them. "Grindal looked upon their condition as his own,"[1] and wrote to Cecil on their behalf. In the latter year the same thing happened, except that the Duke of Alva had seized English assets in the Netherlands, and the English retaliated by seizing all of the assets of the Germans. No longer was credit extended to the German Strangers; outstanding loans were expected to be immediately repaid to their English creditors, and those who were indebted to the Germans refused repayment. Grindal again appealed to Cecil, asking that only those who were factors for the Spanish be subject to this seizure. To determine this it was necessary that a census be taken. Accordingly, we find the names of those who were thought to be factors for Spain,[2] and the names of the members of the Italian church in London who were born in the dominions of the King of Spain.[3] In connection with this probably belongs the letter of Elizabeth to Parker, May 13, 1568, requesting a census of foreigners in London to determine where they were born, their condition and occupation, their reasons for coming to England, how long they had been here, which church they attended, etc., and stating that any who are not Christians will not be allowed to remain. Parker, in turn, directed Grindal to conduct the said census.[1] Grindal complied, and issued a directive to all foreigners that all who could understand English should begin attending the English churches, and those who could not should join one of the Strangers' churches. Otherwise, they must leave the country.

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[1] Strype, The History of . . . Grindal, p. 75.

[2] Lansdowne Manuscripts, No. 10, Sec. 60.

[3] Ibid., Sec. 61.

When Grindal became Archbishop, he was succeeded in the diocese of London by Bishop Sandys. Who now was to be superintendent? Sandys, upon the precedent of Grindal, "claimed the superintendence of the Dutch Church in London."[2] In fact, according to Strype, an effort was made in August or September of 1571 to bring the Strangers' churches of London and Norwich under the bishops of the respective dioceses, or at least to make of the bishops superintendents. But the bishop of Norwich proved not to be so eager as Sandys and disclaimed all authority over them.[3] After this, virtually nothing appears in the literature of the time concerning the question of superintendency. In fact, only London and Glastonbury have any history of a superintendency, the other churches seeming to manage their own affairs without such an office, and appealing to the bishops when the need arose. Thus, Strype says of the London community, "But after him (Grindal), I think they had no other superintendent."[1]

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[1] Parker, p. 321.

[2] Edwin Sandys, Sermons and Miscellaneous Pieces, Parker Society Publications, ed. John Ayre (Cambridge: University Press, 1841), p. xx.

[3] Strype, The Life . . . of Matthew Parker, IV, p. 77.

However, Sandys did have a bit of trouble with the French church in August of 1573, which caused Elizabeth to address a letter, through the Privy Council, to the Strangers' Churches. It seems as if the French church was either interfering with, or at least countenancing, Puritan preaching which Sandys was attempting to halt. He addressed letters to Cecil and the Earl of Leicester, August 5, 1573, requesting that they enjoin the French to cease their meddling.[2] From Elizabeth then came a long letter urging that the French do not despise English ceremonies, that they do not countenance unruly and tumultuous people, that they do not accept Englishmen into membership, and that they avoid all suspicion.[3] The churches replied, thanking the Queen for their privileges, expressing the desire that they may never give cause for offense, stating that they would follow her suggestions and would submit to the magistrates, and finally, that it was no concern of theirs what the Puritans were about.[4]

Other than this incident with Sandys, the Strangers' churches had no relationship with the controversy of the English government and church with the Puritans. There was some harking back, however, to the controversy over vestments in Edward's reign, and oddly enough, it was Parker who did the necessary research. Parker's struggle with Humphrey and Sampson in 1564 caused him to look into the arguments of Bucer and Lasco, and to publish a document, Summa controversiae de re vestiaria inter Bucerum et Alascum,[1] in which he set forth Bucer's argument made to Hooper, that under the circumstances of pressure he should conform. Of course, this carried little weight with Humphrey and Sampson, who discovered that two could play the game of citing the authorities. They wrote to Bullinger, July, 1556, "that we have the testimony of Bucer, who was of the opinion that the distinction of dress should entirely be done away with. . . . These words he made use of in his letter to master aLasco, who was altogether on our side."[2]

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[1] Strype, Annals of the Reformation . . ., I, p. 174.

[2] Sandys, p. xx.

[3] Strype, Annals of the Reformation . . ., II, Appxs. 29 and 30.

[4] Ibid., pp. 419ff.

Whitgift's controversy with Cartwright has also produced a reference to the Strangers' Churches. In his Defense of the Answer, his reply to Cartwright's Reply to the Answer, on the question of authority he cited the example of the Strangers' churches which are obedient to the established authority.

> It is sufficient if the governors of the Church, and such as have authority to ordain such rites, to think them to be profitable in the respect of the time, person, and place; neither must every private man's judgement in this case be respected, as it is well set down by the Articles agreed upon by the Dutch church in London, allowed by M. Beza, and by divers other reformed Churches.[3]

The Articles referred to were compiled by the German church and sent for approval and suggestion to Beza, and allowed the established authorities the right to determine ecclesiastical usage.

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[1] Strype, The History of . . . Grindal, pp. 341ff.

[2] Zurich Letters . . ., I, p. 161.

[3] John Whitgift, Works, Parker Society Publications, ed. John Ayre (3 vols.; Cambridge: University Press, 1851), I, p. 198.

A word yet needs to be said concerning the relationships of the Strangers with the business world of that day. On the whole, the Strangers proved to be an economic asset to England, so much so, at times, that they earned the ill will and censure of the native English, who felt that their own positions were being hurt by these foreigners. A paper in the archives of the German church for 1568 states that forty-two persons were arrested and their trade interfered with. Then follows this plea:

> All these poor men most humbly beseech that according to her majesty's most princely pleasure and gracious inclination hitherto towards them, that some such good order may be taken, and set down under the great seal of England, or otherwise as to your good Lordship's grave wisdom, shall seem most meet. That they, and the rest of the said congregations, may no more be thus daily vexed and put to charges; but quickly use and exercise their several vocations, to maintain their wives, children, and families.[1]

In 1576 and 1578, complaints were made to the Privy Council that foreign shoe makers were acting as agents of foreign houses. In 1586, the apprentices of London raised an insurrection against the French and German strangers. The year, 1592, saw the London merchants complain so loudly of the Strangers in retail trades that, in the following year, a bill passed in Commons to restrict their activity, though Parliament recessed before it passed Lords, and nothing came of it.

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[1] Burn, p. 8.

D. Services of Worship and Instruction, and the Observance of the Sacraments[1]

The _Forma ac Ratio_ is a long (284 pages) and rather tedious setting forth of what Lasco conceived to be the ideal forms of ecclesiastical usage. It was not written until 1553, shortly before his flight from the country, and was not published until two years later while he was at Frankfort. Therefore, it is not known just how closely the Strangers' churches followed the pattern set forth here, but it may be reasonably assumed that the practice was as close to the theory as it was humanly possible to be. The _Forma ac Ratio_ was, in one sense, a protest document. The second _Book of Common Prayer_, though it had incorporated much of Bucer's _Censura_,[2] was not satisfactory to Lasco's more radical views, particularly with Cranmer's last minute insertion of the "Black Rubric." The _Forma ac Ratio_ was therefore intended to set forth the "correct" ecclesiastical usages as they were practiced by the Strangers. The usages set forth here applied only to the London churches of which Lasco was Superintendent. Many Strangers' churches in other towns adopted it, but it was not mandatory. The French churches probably used a Strassburg or Genevan service more widely than they used that of Lasco. Although Brightman contends that Lasco's ritual for Sunday worship was William Farel's Genevan *La manière et fasson . . . quon tient es lieux que Dieu de sa grâce à visites, 1533*, the two services being exactly alike, except that Lasco began with a Bidding, and inserted a Psalm after the Lord's Prayer, and a few other very minor differences.[1]

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[1] That which follows is primarily a summary of Dalton's analysis of Lasco's _Forma ac Ratio_. Hermann Dalton, _Johannes A'Lasco Beitrag zur Reformationsgeschichte Polens, Deutschlands und Englands_ (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1881), Part I, "John a Lasco, His Earlier Life and Labors," trans. J.H. Evans (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1886).

[2] _Censura Martini Buceri super libros sacrorum, seu ordinationis Ecclesiae atque ministerii ecclesiastici in regno Angliae_. This document had been prepared by Bucer at Cranmer's request, and was a perusal of the first _Book of Common Prayer_ with suggestions for improving the second one.

The Sunday morning worship service was the chief service of the week. (The order of worship was printed in 1551 at the end of the *Compendium Doctrinae* and is included in Chapter IV of this thesis.) The congregation gathered at nine in the morning in a sanctuary that had been "cleansed" of all the relics of popery. The beginning of the service was marked by the entrance into the chancel of the minister who was officiating that morning. The service was opened with the minister's prayer. Psalms, which had been rhymed and set to tunes by Utenhove, were sung by the congregation, but without instrumental accompaniment. Then came the reading of Scripture, not according to the traditional pericopes, nor from random, but which followed the study of the Bible, book by book, beginning where the minister had ended the previous Sunday. This was the practice of the German congregation. The French congregation allowed the minister to choose his own passage for Sunday morning, but followed the book by book exposition in their prophesyings. The passage was explained, part by part, and the various lessons of edification and admonition were drawn out and specifically applied. Following the sermon was a short prayer, "Lord God, because of Jesus Christ thy son, may we not only hear, but have the word inscribed on our hearts, and may it bear fruit . . ."[1] The Decalogue was read, the minister charged the community with sin and exhorted them to repentance. Following a prayer for repentance and divine mercy, the minister declared the community to be forgiven. The final prayer was a prayer of general intercession in which the divine blessing was sought for the world wide church and its ministers, for Edward VI, his household and government, for the people of England, the city of London, and especially these Strangers' churches, for all kings, princes, and authorities, for all who were willing to suffer for their beliefs, and finally for the sorrowing, sick, and afflicted of the community. While a final Psalm was sung, the deacons prepared to receive alms at the door. The congregation was charged with the care of the poor, and the benediction pronounced.

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[1] F.E. Brightman, *The English Rite, being a synopsis of the sources and revisions of the Book of Common Prayer* (2 vols.; London: Rivingtons, 1915), p. cxlvii.

The communities observed two sacraments, both of which were celebrated after the morning worship service. The observance of the Lord's Supper was just as liturgically simple as the worship service. Every first Sunday of the month the Lord's Supper was observed, alternating between the German and French congregations. Two weeks before the intended observance, announcement was made from the pulpits and the people were urged to seriously prepare themselves at home, by meditating upon a right understanding of God and themselves, and by settling all disputes that might exist with each other. The elders remained after the morning worship the next two Sundays to discuss problems that any may have, and all who intended to participate in the sacrament had to appear before them and have their names entered in the list of worthy ones. These lists were then carefully checked for intruders and for those who chose to absent themselves, who, incidentally, received a call from the elders reminding them of their duty and offering to help with any spiritual problems they might have. On the day before the observance, at 2:00 P.M., all who intended to participate met at the church where they were lectured on the purpose and meaning of the Supper. On the appointed day, at the close of the worship service, the minister reiterated the purpose of the Supper, the words of institution were read from I Corinthians 11, and the minister left the chancel and moved toward the table which was set at floor level in the front of the sanctuary. The table was covered with a white linen cloth and held four cups and three plates. The chief minister was seated in the center of the table facing the congregation, and the other ministers, presbyters, deacons, and laymen were seated around him, as many as there was room for. Sitting, rather than kneeling, was preferred because kneeling implied the popish error of the veneration of the sacrament. At this point the minister drew the parallel between the Lord's Supper and the Passover wherein the Christian was led out of the land of bondage and into a new land of promise by the sacrifice of his "Joshua." Now the minister took bread from one of the plates, broke it into pieces and placed it on the other plates, with the words, "This bread which we break is the communion of the love of Christ." He passed the plates to those next to him with the words, "Take and eat of this, remembering that the love of our Lord Jesus Christ for the remission of our sins has been made available in his death on the wood of the cross." The wine was then poured into the cups, and with the same words was distributed to the people. While the distribution was taking place, one of the ministers read from the sixth chapter of the Gospel of John (a favorite passage of Zwingli's). When all had partaken, they left the table and a new group took their places, the elders meanwhile checking to make sure that no unqualified person was seated. After all had been served, a prayer of thanksgiving was offered, a psalm sung and the benediction pronounced. The remaining bread and wine was distributed to the poor.

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[1] Dalton, p. 381.

The sacrament of baptism was also equally simple. Only the children of Christians were baptized. The names of the child and parents, their residence, and the date of birth were recorded. At the conclusion of the morning worship service, the parents and godparents stepped forward with the infant. The congregation was instructed as to the nature and purpose of baptism as well as the right and duty to baptize infants. A prayer followed this discourse. The minister then asked of the parents and godparents whether the children were true descendants of the church, whether they could lawfully be baptized, whether they could acknowledge as being true the explanation which they had just heard, whether they acknowledged that the child was a sinner by nature who could only be saved through Christ, and finally whether they acknowledged that it was their duty, as well as that of the church, to instruct this child in the faith as he grew. Having received an affirmative answer, the minister called the name of the child, touched it upon the forehead with water and spoke these words, "I baptize thee in the name of the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit. May God the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ seal thee with us in the gift of our rebirth and justification in Christ, through his Holy Spirit, to Eternal Life." There followed a prayer of thanks and a final admonition to the community.

A third rite of great importance, though not a sacrament, was that of marriage. It, too, was performed at the close of the worship service. The betrothed were expected to confer with the church elders concerning the duties and lawfulness of the marriage. Word would be sent to the church council that all was in order. The council would enter their names in the register and announce the forthcoming marriage for three successive Sundays. If no objections were forthcoming from the congregation, the ceremony would be performed. "Without scuffle and without theatrical pomp" the couple would proceed to the front of the sanctuary with an escort of honorable men and women. The minister addressed the congregation concerning the seriousness of the married state and earnestly admonished the betrothed. The groom was asked if he would, as a husband, conduct his life according to the word of God, and the bride was similarly questioned. The minister laid his hands upon them and spoke the words, "The almighty, eternal God, who has called you to matrimonial companionship, unite you as one flesh through the bond of his spirit in true and enduring love and in awe before him, that you, throughout your life, may express in your marriage the wonderful companionship of the betrothal of Christ to his people. The Lord our God make you fruitful for your own happiness and for the growth of his community." Matthew 19 was read, a final word of exhortation spoken, and Psalm 127 was sung.

Sunday afternoons were also utilized--mainly for the instruction of the children. They gathered at 2:00 P.M., along with their parents, and the morning order of service was again followed, except that, instead of the sermon, the adolescents, seated around the chancel, repeated the Catechism, of which Lasco was author. The learning was done by repetition, and to encourage understanding, the older children and the minister made explanation as they proceeded. The sessions were regulated so that the entire Catechism was gone through twice each year. Before one could become confirmed, he had to know it by heart. The church register for 1551 includes a list of those children who had completed this difficult assignment, and the entry for June 7 includes the names of two of Lasco's children, John and Barbara. The membership roll for that year also included their names, "Joannes a Lasco et Barbara."[1] Also in this service, twice each year opportunity was given to the children, ages five to eleven, to recite the Small Catechism of 134 questions, which was written by Micronius. These children had been instructed in this Catechism by their parents at home.

During the week there were three services, a prophesying and two exegetical lectures.[1] The practice of prophesying had its origin in Zurich where Zwingli called his ministers "prophets." The purpose of the practice was to train the ministers thoroughly in their knowledge and understanding of the Scripture, to be, in other words, a kind of seminary. Every day, except Sunday and Friday, at 8:00 A.M., the ministers of Zurich gathered in the choir of the Great Minster where they dealt with the Old Testament, chapter by chapter. The passage to be discussed that day was read and expounded by three different ministers from the Vulgate, the Hebrew, and the Septuagint. A fourth summarized in Latin all that had been said and suggested how these passages might be used in preaching. Then Zwingli, or one of his colleagues, preached in German from the passage for their benefit, and for laymen who may have gathered by this time.[2] Calvin also used this practice for the training of ministers and for exploring differences in doctrine.

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[1] Returns of Aliens . . ., pp. 210 and 213.

Lasco, however, expanded the practice to include the laity, not as mere spectators, but as participants. If this had value in training the ministers, why not the laity as well? The prophesyings were held by the Germans on Thursday mornings and by the French on Wednesday mornings, the French following a chapter by chapter exposition of the Bible. In the German congregation, the presbyters began the exercise by expounding upon the sermon preached the previous Sunday, raising any questions concerning it which they felt to be necessary. The minister who had preached that sermon was then called upon to defend himself, basing his defense upon Scripture. Then the congregation, whose questions and statements had been submitted beforehand to the presbyters for determination of their appropriateness and relevance, was permitted to speak. The French practice was similar, except that the discussion arose out of the passage which had been exegetically treated that morning, rather than from the previous Sunday's sermon. Prophesyings had several positive benefits. They served as an opportunity for both clergy and laity to think critically, they gave pause for the minister who was wont to do careless study and preaching, they served as an educational device, they provided an outlet for pent up feelings and the setting forth of doubts and difficulties, and they were an easy means of spotting an overzealous heretic, thus, nipping heresy in the bud. But they were quite easily abused, particularly if overzealous and unwise men gained any amount of authority or following. To this end stringent rules were often drawn up for governing the practice. For example, the church at Northampton adopted these: every minister who participated must have subscribed to the creed and discipline; opposition was to be restricted to questions of doctrine and Scripture interpretation; the speakers were limited in time; the learned brethren of the community made known any dissatisfactions in writing only; and if any broke the rules they were severely reprimanded.[1]

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[1] Apparently the number of prophesyings varied from time to time. Utenhove, writing to Bullinger April 9, 1551, said that the following week they were to begin a prophesying "together with the English," and that they now had one in Latin on Monday after Lasco's lecture, and another on Wednesday in German after Deloene's lecture. O. L. p. 587.

[2] H. Zwingli, Huldreich Zwinglis Sämtliche Werke, Vol. IV, ed. Emil Egli, George Finsler, Walther Köhler, Oskar Farner, Vol. XCI of Corpus Reformatorum (Leipzig: Hensius Nachfolger, 1927), pp. 701f.

The exegetical services were conducted for the German congregation by Lasco on Monday evenings, with Latin readings and explanations from the New Testament, and by Walter Deloene doing the same with the Old Testament on Wednesday evenings.

E. Church Order

Lasco's church order was basically that of Geneva and Strassburg, as he himself said,[2] though with variations in detail. Perhaps the most outstanding variation, and the most important, as we have already seen with the prophesyings, was the greater share which he gave to the congregation in the ordering of the church's affairs, both in nominating officers and excommunication.

Lasco deduced from the Scriptures that there were in the early church only two orders of ministry--elders and deacons, while Calvin had four offices--pastors, doctors, elders, and deacons. However, Lasco sub-divided the elders into two classes--the ministers, in whom were combined both the preaching and teaching functions, and the presbyters whose task was that of spiritual oversight of the flock. Nevertheless, ministers and presbyters were peers, quite equal in status with each other. The office of superintendent, which Lasco held, seems to be a concession to the English government, though the office was always considered to be one additional function of the eldership.

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[1] Drysdale, p. 124.

[2] Kuyper, II, p. 50.

Lasco did attempt to justify it by citing the example of Peter who was commanded by the Lord to strengthen the brethren. But this gave to him no authoritative position. So the superintendency was an office of moral suasion. Its holder called meetings and offered suggestions, but never gave orders. His peers could ask him to step down, which thing he had pledged to do at the time of his ordination. The ministers were responsible for the preaching services and Bible lectures, and for the education of the congregation. The presbyters, as we have already mentioned, were responsible for visitation, for the spiritual preparation of the Lord's Supper, for the proper conduct of the prophesyings, and as we shall see shortly, for the maintenance of moral and spiritual discipline among the members. The elders were elected for life. The office of deacon was established for the care of the poor and destitute. This office was of a lower order than elder and was for a term of one year. The deacons were expected to be familiar with the circumstances of the members of the congregation and to step in and help where and when they could. Monies for this purpose were collected at each of the services of the congregation, with the deacons standing at the doors of the sanctuary with receptacles into which contributions were placed. The Catechism might be noted at this point. Question 67, which had to do with the violation of the eighth commandment, "Thou shalt not steal," contained a phrase that the commandment is violated "when we demand and take more from the church than is required for the frugal performance of its services . . .," which may not be readily understood until one realizes the tremendous need for compassion because of the constant flow of refugees. This phrase, then, was a safeguard against those who would take advantage of the church at this point. However, the Catechism proceeded to say that the commandment was also violated "when the church refuses to meet the need."[1]

On each Thursday the elders of each church met to conduct church business. On the first Thursday of each month, the deacons appeared before them to give an accounting of their activities and expenditures. On the first Monday of each month, all elders and deacons from all three churches met with the Superintendent to discuss mutual problems. And in the German congregation, on the second Thursday of each Quarter, all of the officers met for a discussion of doctrine and each other's conduct. This meeting was announced on the previous Sunday and the laity had the right of attending and voicing its disapproval of the doctrine or conduct of any of the officers, providing two or three witnesses also appeared.

The election of officers was a matter of utmost seriousness. The procedure was similar for both minister, presbyter, and deacon. When election was necessary, a fast day was proclaimed and a day of prayer set aside. At 9:00 A.M. on this day, the congregation gathered and listened to a sermon on the meaning and importance of the election. A list of members who were qualified for the office was then presented as a suggestion. After a prayer for guidance the people returned home, spending the remainder of the day fasting and praying. The next day they came together again for a sermon. During the next week each member brought to the elders the name of the person whom he thought would best qualify. Calvin's practice was for the Council to prepare a slate and permit the congregation to select only from it. The French Church followed this practice. The elders and deacons then counted the votes, voiced their opinions as to the fitness of the candidate (holding at this point a veto power), and consulted with him who had been chosen. The announcement was made at the next worship service, and the congregation was given a week in which to make their objections known to the church council. If significant objections were forthcoming, the election was held again. If not, the elected one was installed and the royal approval sought. At the installation, the electee was questioned as to the leading of the Holy Spirit in his life, his acceptance of the Old and New Testaments, whether he would submit to church discipline, and would labor, not for his own, but for the glory of God and the building of his Kingdom. Then all the ministers and elders placed their hands on his head while prayer was made for him. Finally, the congregation was reminded of its duty.

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[1] Ibid., p. 384.

Moral and spiritual discipline was an integral part of the life of the Strangers' Churches. Dalton points out that discipline in England was easier for Lasco than it had been in Emden, for membership within the state church was obligatory, hence, submission to discipline was often unwilling. In England, however, membership in the church was in some sense voluntary, because foreigners were not usually subject to the statute requiring church attendance, unless, of course, they desired citizenship. Even then the alternative of membership in the

Anglican church was open to them.[1]

Disciplinary cases were brought to the attention of the council of elders by the testimony of two or three men who felt that they had evidence of error in the areas of doctrine, disobedience to the commandments, or the disturbance of the peace of the community. If it was not a serious matter and a private one, it was handled by the council. If serious and public, then the offender was brought before the congregation. If the latter, the offender appeared on a given Sunday, heard his penance read, and acknowledged his guilt. If from shame or timidity he was unable to speak, the minister could do so for him. The council was asked if they were satisfied and if so, the offender was welcomed by the minister and the people, and a prayer of thanksgiving was offered for his return. He received the brotherly kiss, Psalm 103 was sung, and the people dismissed.

If an offender was unrepentant, the church was informed of this and their approval was sought for excommunication. If no one, in the following week, voiced disapproval to the council, then the machinery of excommunication was set in motion. On the Saturday evening before the act was to take place, the congregation gathered to determine from the Scripture, if they were acting rightly, or whether there might be some other course of action. If they decided to proceed, the following day, a sermon was preached on the right and duty of the church to excommunicate. The ministers, elders, and deacons sat in front facing the people. The charges were read and the council approved. A serious prayer to God to turn his erring one from his sinful way was made, following which the minister spoke to the people about the seriousness of falling into the hands of the living God. All then knelt together and prayed a prayer in which were spoken the words of exclusion. Now, social relationships were prohibited with the excommunicant, though all had the duty to admonish him when the occasion arose. Should he repent, the possibility was left open for his re-admission to the congregation.

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[1] Dalton, pp. 402f.

The road to membership in the Strangers' churches was paved, for children, with the memorization, first, of Micronius' Small Catechism, and second, with Lasco's larger one. For adults, membership meant (a) becoming familiar with Lasco's Brevis fidei exploratio,[1] a small work of forty-one questions and answers dealing with the Apostles' Creed, the Sacraments, and Prayer, (b) subscription to the Confession of Faith which pertained mainly to a discussion of the doctrine of the church, and (c) an expression of his willingness to submit to the church's discipline.

F. Internal Dissension

From time to time there were disturbances within the community itself, for one reason or another. We have already mentioned, in connection with Grindal's superintendency, the quarrels of Corranus and Hamstead. A point of doctrine and two ecclesiastical practices served as the occasion of an early quarrel. Walter Deloene condemned the article in the Apostles' Creed concerning Christ's descent into Hell, termed all who knelt at the Lord's Supper "surgeons of the Antichrist," and wished to discontinue the use of godparents at the baptism of infants. After a short time he was persuaded to see the error of his ways and recanted. However, it might be noted that in the 1553 edition of the Catechism Lasco added seven questions on this phrase, "descensus ad infernos," apparently to avert a recurrence of this sort of "free thinking." The question of the use of godparents at baptism again arose in 1568 and occasioned quite a stir. Those who wished to retain the practice framed a set of "Theological Propositions" and sent one copy to Beza and another to Grindal. The argument of these propositions centered on the question of obedience to those in authority on matters that are adiaphora. Interestingly enough, the same arguments are used here as the English were using against the Puritans. Article one stated that Christian freedom is not freedom to do as one wishes, but only freedom from the curse of the law. Article two stated that Christian liberty has nothing to do either with obedience to, or revolt from, civil and religious authorities. Article five stated that indifferent things are those which, in themselves, are neither good nor bad. Article nine, authorities may enjoin or forbid things indifferent. Article ten, this enjoining or forbidding is done on the basis of circumstances. Article twenty, the lawful ministers and elders represent the church. Article twenty-two, to conspire against them is to be an enemy of the church. Article twenty-seven, the magistrate is ordained of God, and, article twenty-eight, is to be obeyed. Article thirty-one, every man is to live as a subject.

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[1] Kuyper, II, p. 476.

The year prior to this, several members of the congregation were censured by the church, but refused to repent and be disciplined. The congregation petitioned Grindal and other of the Queen's commissioners, who handed down a ruling, December 19, 1567, that the church should continue under the terms of the charter and in conformity with other reformed churches; that all strangers in London should join this church and be obedient to it; and that all defectors were unquiet and stubborn persons until they repented and made satisfaction to God and the church and submitted to further disciplines.[2] If this breach in the system of discipline had been left unmended, the entire system would have shortly disintegrated.

A case which is mentioned in almost every document pertaining to the Strangers' churches is that of the minister of the Italian church, Michael Angelo Florio. As we have said, he was an energetic and zealous person, probably quite likable, but given to self pity and quite easily angered. He had twenty pounds for life from Cranmer and Cecil. In the first place his extreme and vicious denunciations of the pope and the Roman church alienated many of his congregation, which was never very large anyway. Contributions fell off and he addressed a letter to Cecil lamenting that his flock abused him for preaching against popery and that they were behind with his salary.[3] There may be some truth

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[1] Strype, The History of . . . Grindal, I, Appx. 18.

[2] Strype, Ecclesiastical Memorials . . ., p. 4.

[3] Lansdowne Manuscripts, No. 45, p. 29.

in Florio's lament, particularly if there were Italian merchants in London who were of Roman Catholic persuasion, but who found it expedient to attend this church. In addition to lamenting to Cecil, he also provided the Council with the names of fourteen members of his congregation who had begun attending mass again. But that for which he is infamous, is his "deflowering of a maid," as Strype so judiciously states it.[1] He was accordingly deposed from his ministry and underwent the censure and penance of the church. The Council threatened to banish him. On January 23, 1553, he wrote to Cecil, reminding him that he was frail as were Adam and David, and that the hurt to the Gospel would be the greater if he were banished since his enemies abroad would either kill him or make him recant. His request was granted and he was restored. But to vent his animosity toward his brethren, whom he probably blamed for his being found out, he began to accuse one of his brethren for not preaching strict Calvinistic predestination, perhaps Rivière. Lasco, as superintendent, refused to be drawn into controversy, thus giving Florio no grounds upon which to continue his ungracious acts.[2]

From the letters of Parkhurst we also find internal dissension in the German congregation in Norwich where, in 1571, three ministers, Antonius, Theophilus, and Isbrandus, through personal attacks on each other's doctrine, had utterly confused the congregation. Word of it reached Parker who instructed Parkhurst, bishop of Norwich, to settle it. But Parkhurst was sick and had to work through a commission. Earlier, he had granted the church a consistory with authority in ecclesiastical matters. When the commission attempted to settle the matter, the church complained that this was an infringement of their rights and challenged the bishop to a disputation. Rather than dispute, Parkhurst simply banished the three ministers from the city. In a letter to Bullinger, August 10, 1571, he complained of the labor and expense of settling this dispute, and said, "the English, I allow, were somewhat troublesome in Germany; but if you compare them with these, they were quietness itself."[1]

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[1] Strype, The History of . . . Grindal, p. 108.

[2] Florio's letters to Cecil are to be found in Strype, Memorials of Archbishop Cranmer, Appxs. 52 and 53.

G. Procedures with Heretics

As early as 1551 the infant churches found themselves infested with heretics. Micronius, in a letter to Bullinger, August 14, 1551, appealed to him for help, for not only were there the ancient errors, but there seemed to be a rebirth of Arianism, the arguments of which were that the God of the Old and New Testaments were different Gods, the name "Trinity" was an innovation and was not found in Scripture, and that Christ was not God in the orthodox sense, but only superior to men. While Bullinger's Decades had been most helpful, they did not seem to deal with the situation as it presently exists. Would Bullinger please address himself to the problem.[2]

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[1] Zurich Letters . . ., I, p. 256.

[2] O. L., pp. 574f.

Two radical cases of heresy come to light, the one in Edward's reign, the other midway in Elizabeth's. The first concerns George van Parris of Mentz, a surgeon and member of the German church. He was a pious and strict man, but he held that God the Father was the only God, and Jesus the Son was not God--a unitarian belief. He was excommunicated by the church and his case was brought before the Ecclesiastical Commission, and on April 6, 1551 he was tried before Cranmer, Ridley, Coverdale, and six others, and found guilty.[1] Edward's Journal for April 7, 1551 reads, "A certain Arian of the strangers, a Dutch Man, being excommunicated by the congregation of his countrymen, was, after long disputation, condemned to the fire."[2]

The other case has to do with John Peters and Henry Terwert, from Flanders, who were first brought to the ministers of the Strangers in hopes that they could be converted. They were then brought before the Commission and charged with being Anabaptists. Rymer contains the order of July 15, 1575 for their burning, and the notice that the deed has been done at West Smithfield, "coram Populo."[3]

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[1] Robert Wallace, Antitrinitarian Biography: or Sketches of the lives and writings of distinguished Antitrinitarians (3 vols.; London: E.T. Whitfield, 1850), II, p. 125.

[2] Burnet, IV, p. 215.

[3] Rymer, XV, pp. 740f.

CHAPTER II

JOHN A'LASCO, HIS LIFE AND WORK

A. Early Life and Family

John A'Lasco was born in 1499, the second son of Jaroslav and Susanna (Bakova-Gora) A'Lasco. Jaroslav was Lord of the manors of Lask and Krowicz in the Palatinate of Siradiensum. He was the Palatine of this area, as well as that of Leczyc, and included in his responsibilities were such things as the maintenance of troops, the judging of criminal and civil cases, presiding over council meetings, and the regulation of prices. The town of Lask, outside of which stood the old castle in which Lasco was reared, was the county seat town with the usual market place, square, and church. The church had been the object of favor by two uncles who were priests, and had been endowed with relics, statues, and jewels, and boasted a history of miraculous cures, which made it a shrine. Lasco had two brothers. The older one, Jerome, spent his life in a diplomatic career with Hungary and Austria. It was he, who, in the service of Count John of Zapolya of Hungary, was responsible for bringing Turkey into the civil war as his ally and thus saving it from the onslaughts of Ferdinand of Austria, brother-in-law of the deceased Louis II of Hungary, whose throne each claimed. Badly treated by Zapolya, he later joined the service of his former enemy, Ferdinand, as he prepared to retake Hungary in 1536. He died in 1542. The younger one, Stanislaus, served in a diplomatic capacity with Francis I of France, and shared with him his captivity which had resulted from his defeat at Pavia. John, one of two uncles who was a priest, was the Archbishop of Gnesen, Apostolic legate for the Pope, Primate, and at one time, Grand Chancellor of Poland. While holder of this last mentioned office he collected and catalogued the laws of Poland, which collection is known as _Commune Poloniae Privilegium, Constitutionum, et Indaltum, 1506_. It was he who was responsible for the statute which barred non-nobles from holding the higher ecclesiastical offices in Poland. He died May 19, 1531.

Lasco's early life at the castle was uneventful. He and his brothers were probably tutored by the family priest, and Lasco was designated for an ecclesiastical career. At the age of eleven, he and his brothers were taken by the Archbishop to his residence at Cracow where they were tutored by John Braniczky. Cracow was the center of humanism in Poland, though it is doubtful if this had any effect on young Lasco.

In 1512, the Archbishop was chosen by King Sigismund I as a delegate to the Lateran Council which opened in May of that Year. However, he did not leave Poland until March of the following year, when he and the two older boys and their tutor set out for Rome. Arriving in June, in time for the seventh sitting of the Council, the Archbishop was made an assistant to Pope Leo X and placed on a committee for the extirpating of schism. What influences Rome, with its ecclesiastical corruption and atmosphere of humanism, had upon Lasco is not known, and there is no evidence that he had begun to be critical of the situation or to understand what was involved.

In October, 1514, Braniczky took the two boys to Bologna, leaving the Archbishop at Rome. Here, the young Stanislaus joined his brothers along with several other Polish lads who had been sent for educational reasons. Bologna was yet in the grip of scholastic theology and it is probable that the lads studied canon law and scholastic exegesis, among other things. While they were here, in 1516, they witnessed the meeting of the victorious Francis I and Leo X wherein an agreement was reached between the two. They also witnessed the usual riots between students from different nations, at least one of which was led by Ulrich von Hutten. Sometime in 1517 the group left for home.

Upon arriving home Lasco discovered that a few months before, his uncle had made him a canon at the Collegiate Institute in Leczyc, and he had not been home many months before he was made coadjutor to the Dean of Gnesen. In addition to this, Leo X, in return for 1400 gulden, made him custodian of Leczyc and canon of Cracow and Plock. The Archbishop's records disclose this note:

> Fourteen hundred gulden, changed into a thousand golden gulden, have I sent to Rome for the prosecution of this business regarding the custodianship of Plock and Leczyc. My marshall, Nicholas Walski, knows of the distribution of this thousand gulden; and this is made in the interest of my nephew, Johannes.[1]

And if this was not enough, the uncle also leased to Lasco his properties in the towns of Lowicz and Squiernievice for 2000 gulden a year, thus providing him with additional income. In 1521 Lasco was ordained as a priest and made Dean of Gnesen.

Up to this point, then, we have the story of a young man, who as so many other talented youths either chose the church for a career or was directed in this way, even though he had no particular religious conviction or interest. This was a vocation, and he was more fortunate than others in that his uncle, the Archbishop, looked after his interests exceedingly well. If he had not gone abroad once more, it is quite probable that he would have spent his life in the service of the Roman Catholic church in Poland, perhaps even as an opponent of the Reformation.

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[1] Dalton, pp. 82f.

B. His Introduction to Humanism and Protestantism

It was now, late 1523, that Lasco was led (if one is Calvinistic) by Providence on a journey which was to eventually result in his forsaking the Roman church and his preferments for Protestantism. His brother, Jerome, was sent in that year to arrange a marriage between the daughter of Sigismund I and young Henry (the future Henry II), and he took his two brothers with him.[1] Passing through Basle, they stayed at the house of Erasmus until the spring of 1524 when they continued their journey toward France. Erasmus, in a work sent to John Botzheim in Constance mentioned that he had met the two brothers of Jerome--John and Stanislaus.[2] During these winter months William Farel arrived in Basle from France, from whence he had been exiled. His successful disputation with the theologians of the city forced his departure soon thereafter, but not before Lasco had made his acquaintance. Years later, 1551, in a letter to Calvin, he sent his greeting to Farel, recalling the discussions they had had at Erasmus' home.[1]

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[1] Both Dalton and D'Aubigne are in error at points. See Merle D'Aubigne, History of the Reformation In Europe in the Time of Calvin (8 vols.; London: Longmans, Green, and Co., 1876), VII. For the dating, I have relied chiefly on: Desiderius Erasmus, Opus Epistolarum, ed. P.S. Allen (11 vols.; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1906).

[2] Erasmus, I, p. 33.

In the summer of 1524 the group made its way to Paris, where Stanislaus now entered the service of Francis I, and Lasco saw on every side evidences of Protestantism. Briçonnet, the aged and reform-espousing Bishop of Meaux, and Marguerite, the hesitant Protestant sister of the king, and Jaques LeFevre, whose expositions on the four Gospels and Catholic Epistles were read by Lasco[2] were in the city, and Lasco, moving in court circles, became acquainted with Marguerite, and probably with her sympathies for the Reformation.

Dalton has Lasco back in Basle by the end of 1524, but it is probable that he did not return until the spring of 1525 with two companions, Peter Lamy, the Franciscan, and Anianus Burgonius of Orleans. He roomed in Erasmus' house again, perhaps intending to remain for some time. Lasco paid for his room the sum of three and one half gulden per month and met the entire expense of the kitchen. He now became friends with Bonifacius Amerbach, Professor of Civil Law at the University. He also made the acquaintance of Oecolampadius and in later years mentioned that he had his books in his library and wished to possess all that he had written.[1] He studied Hebrew from Conrad Pellican, and Greek from Henry Glareanus. He also met the humanist, Beatus Rhenanus, who later dedicated a work to him. Undoubtedly, these were pleasant and enlightening months for this young pluralist. But they were soon to end.

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[1] J. Calvin, Joannis Calvini Opera Quae Supersunt Omnia, Vol. XIV, ed. William Baum, Edward Cunitz, Edward Reuss, Vol. XLII of Corpus Reformatorum (Brunswick: C.A. Schwelschked and Sons, 1875), p. 42.

[2] Dalton, p. 104.

Dalton and Slade say that in September of this year Jerome arrived in Basle with orders for Lasco's return home, and that the two young men began their journey the next month.[2] It is more probable that Lasco received letters from home urging his return, rather than a visit from his brother Jerome, for when he left Basle on October 5, he carried a letter from Erasmus to Jerome.[3] He wrote to Conrad Pellican, August, 1544, "The happy connections which I had formed at that time were broken off by the authority of my superiors."[4] He also carried a letter from Erasmus to Andrew Cricius, Provost of Poznan,[5] and letters of introduction to friends of Erasmus in Venice, Egnatius, Lupsetus, and Casimbrotus.[6]

From Basle, then, Lasco set out for northern Italy, passing through Constance, from whence came a letter from Botzheim, October 22,

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[1] Kuyper, II, p. 583.

[2] Dalton, p. 135; M.W. Slade, "John a Lasco and the English Reformation," (unpublished thesis for the Master of Arts degree, University of Bristol, England, 1957), p. 18.

[3] Erasmus, VI, p. 184.

[4] Kuyper, II, p. 583.

[5] Erasmus, VI, p. 194.

[6] _Ibid_., p. 90.

1525, stating that Lasco had been his guest.[1] From Casimbrotus, November 23, 1525, came a letter saying that Lasco had arrived with Erasmus' letters of recommendation.[2] But funds were running low, and while Lasco wintered in Venice, his messenger was dispatched to Cracow for more money. In March of the next year, the journey was resumed and Lasco arrived home in mid-April.

Lasco's testimony to the effect which Erasmus had upon him is stated in a letter to Bullinger, March 14, 1544. "It was Erasmus who led me to devote myself to holy things; it was he who first began to instruct me in true religion."[3] In later years, in defense of his old teacher who had refused the Reformation, he wrote,

> Everyone has his measure of gifts, and no single one is strong in all domains; for us also there is still much today we do not know. It is our part to congratulate ourselves on that which God, in accordance with the decree of his will, had been pleased to vouchsafe to us according to the measure of our faith. On that account also we must rejoice in the gifts of Erasmus, which were of truth great and significant enough, and ought to acknowledge God in them. But if we believe we have advanced farther, let us consider that this too was only granted to us of God.[4]

Here, then, was a turning point in his life. It was, however, no radical conversion, but only the beginning of a process which would continue to ferment in his soul for the next decade or more. It was merely a turning to a consideration of "sacred things" based upon the humanistic spirit of Erasmus. It could hardly be said to be Protestantism.

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[1] *Ibid*., p. 425.

[2] *Ibid*., p. 232.

[3] Kuyper, II, p. 569.

[4] *Ibid*., p. 584.

Erasmus thought highly of this young Pole and we find him writing his praise of Lasco to various and sundry persons: to Thomas Lupset,[1] to Baptista Egnatius,[2] to Reginald Pole,[3] and to Marguerite de Valois.[4] One quote will suffice--the letter of introduction to Casimbrotus, October 4, 1525.

> This worthy Pole is a young man, learned but free from pride, full of talent but without arrogance, of a disposition so frank, loving and agreeable, that his charming company has almost made me young again at a time when sickness, hard work, and the annoyance occasioned by my detractors well-nigh made me pine away.[5]

It was while Lasco was residing with Erasmus that arrangements were made for his purchase of Erasmus' library, which was to be received at Erasmus' death. Lasco paid one half the price, 200 florins, in 1525; the remaining 200 were to be paid to Erasmus' heirs. Erasmus' first will, January 22, 1527, specified the terms agreed upon.[6] Accordingly, September 28, 1536, Lasco sent the balance; the library was shipped to him about Christmas, and on April 7, 1537, he signed a receipt for it.[7] Strype, in following Abel Redevivus, incorrectly supposes that Lasco was with Erasmus when he died and purchased his library then.[8]

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[1] Erasmus, VI, p. 188.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 186.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 192.

[4] *Ibid.*, p. 176.

[5] *Ibid.*, p. 190.

[6] *Ibid.*, p. 504.

[7] *Ibid.*, X, p. 179.

[8] Strype, *Memorials of Archbishop Cranmer*, II, pp. 277f.

An interesting side light upon the character of both men is seen in a letter of Erasmus to Lasco, March 21, 1533. The library, wrote Erasmus, had increased in its value by at least 100 crowns since Lasco had purchased it. He offered to refund the 200 florins already paid if Lasco would cancel the contract. An alternative was for Lasco to send 100 crowns as a present for the compliments paid to his uncle, the Archbishop, in Erasmus' edition of Ambrose. But Lasco replied so grudgingly that Erasmus let the contract stand as it was.[1] It might also be conjectured that since Erasmus lived in comparative luxury and died a relatively rich man, that part of his affection for Lasco may have been due to the fact that Lasco was paying the cost of his kitchen while he roomed in his house. Dalton, finding no record of any transaction beyond the original payment, assumed that Lasco did not receive the library, which is incorrect. As late as 1936 a book from Erasmus' library was found in a used book shop in Cracow.[2]

There is yet one other item which must be discussed, viz., Lasco's contact with Zwingli. That he met Zwingli, is certain. D'Aubigne, quoting Kuyper,[3] says that he met him when "per Tiguram in Galliam iter facerem."[4] Slade, however, denies that there ever was a meeting of the two,[5] having evidently overlooked this reference in

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[1] Erasmus, XI, p. 364.

[2] Slade, p. 16 n.

[3] Kuyper, I, p. 338.

[4] D'Aubigne, p. 533.

[5] Slade, p. 15.

Kuyper. The problem is when he met him. Taken literally, this would mean in late 1523 or early 1524. But he also says, in his Responsio Adversus Westphalum, that he had been introduced to Zwingli thirty-four years before.[1] Westphal had attacked Lasco in a writing, Responsio Joachimi Westphali, which was published in 1557, Lasco's Responsio being published in March, 1560. How long elapsed between the writing of Lasco's reply and its publication is not known, but the publishing date gives us as much as a three year period, which means that he met Zwingli sometime between 1524 and 1526. Both Dalton and D'Aubigne place the date in 1525, though it could have been either as he journeyed to France, or perhaps even on his return from Italy to Poland in the spring of 1526. The sequence of logic points to a later date, perhaps 1525. Lasco says that it was Zwingli who first introduced him to the reading of the Gospels, which thing would probably have had no marked effect, had he first not been conditioned by the more moderate reforming spirit of Erasmus' humanism. With Erasmianism as a background, Zwingli's emphasis on the importance of Scripture would have had the effect of elevating the Scripture to the place of authority, and of using it as the basis of reform, which authority it had for Lasco, once he had broken with Roman Catholicism.

A rude awakening awaited Lasco upon his return to Poland. His uncle's enemies had circulated many rumors concerning him, which he found necessary to deny. Indeed, it may well have been that the circulation of the rumors moved the Archbishop to call him home. Among other things they charged him with being a Protestant and of having married.[1] To settle the matter, the Archbishop formed an investigative committee of two, himself and the Bishop of Cracow, his opponent, and after thorough investigation Lasco was called upon to publicly deny with an oath that the rumors were true.[2] D'Aubigne seems to think that by taking the oath, Lasco had fallen from light to darkness, had denied that which he had previously come to hold. D'Aubigne obviously is reading his own opinion into the situation. Lasco had not yet become a Protestant, but only an Erasmian, and held nothing contrary to Roman doctrine or practice as yet. The oath said that he had read, with papal license, the writings of the reformers; but he had adopted no opinion contrary to Rome; if he has inadvertently fallen into error he disavowed such; he wished to follow no group which would rend Catholic unity; he wished to hold only what Rome held; and finally, he swore obedience to the Pope, the bishops, and his superiors.

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[1] Kuyper, I, p. 282.

C. The Religious Situation in Poland and Lasco's Conversion

Poland's monarchy was not absolute, but was, in large measure, subject to the legislation of the Senate, which was composed of the nobility. Poland was, in effect, a loose grouping, or federation, of semi-autonomous states, which, as we shall see later when we are perplexed by the seeming vacillation and indecision of the king to declare for the reformation, made it almost impossible for him to do so, even if a majority of the Palatinates were in favor of it, which, of course, was not the case. Sigismund I was King from 1506 to 1548 and was succeeded by his son, Sigismund Augustus and his queen Radziwill who ruled from 1548 to 1572. Here, as in the remainder of Europe, the feudal system and the Roman Catholic church held sway. The feudal system was beginning to crumble here as elsewhere in Europe but to a much less degree. While the Roman church had also begun to crumble under the impact of Protestantism, it managed to extirpate the "heresy" and to continue much as before, though not without struggle.

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[1] The rumor yet persists in none other than the article on Lasco in Encyclopedia Britannica.

[2] The full text of the oath is printed in D'Aubigne, VII, pp. 545f and in Kuyper, II, p. 547.

The church was corrupt here as elsewhere and needed reformation. Poland's proximity to Bohemia was the opportunity for the teaching of Huss to become widely disseminated, and the influence of Wycliff too was strong. Thus, Slade's attempt to make Lasco a member of Unitas Fratrum, rather than a Calvinist or Zwinglian, has some validity. However, his arguments are not convincing.[1] The growing sense of nationalism, which we see most strongly manifested in the example of France, was not without its proponents in Poland, who resented the claims of, and the economic "bleeding" of the country by, the pope. Prussia, or Little Poland, had been a part of the kingdom only since 1466, and its nearness to Germany resulted in a great number of German immigrants within its borders who seemed to be particularly susceptible to Lutheran doctrine.

The inroads of Protestantism began in 1518 when Lutheran teaching began to be preached in Danzig by a monk, James Knade, who had left the cloister and married. By 1522, the majority of the population was in favor of Lutheranism. However, the city officials and well-to-do wished to move slowly, while the plebeians urged more radical action. When the Radicals captured the city from the Conservatives, they appealed to Sigismund for help. Sigismund entered the city in 1526, beheaded fifteen Radicals and returned the government to the Conservatives. In 1524 Archbishop Lasco had conducted heresy proceedings in the city, but to no avail. The Reformation continued, with preaching in the churches, the closing of monasteries, and iconoclasm. By 1540, Lutheranism in Danzig was a "fait accompli." Other cities followed Danzig's lead, including Thorn, Elbing, and Braunsberg.

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[1] Slade, Chaps. I, II.

A notable convert to Protestantism was Albert Hohenzollern, Grand Master of the Teutonic Knights, who, when he was converted in 1525, secularized their possessions. The treaty of Cracow, 1525, made him ruler of the Duchy of East Prussia and gave him the chief seat on the Polish Senate. He promptly issued an edict, July 6, that the Gospel should be preached in his territories. He published Luther's Short Catechism, and established in Königsberg a press and a university for the dissemination of Protestant materials and doctrine.

The Roman clergy, sensing the need for reform, and possibly the results if reform was not forthcoming, petitioned Clement VII, in this year, for a synod to deal with the problem. They were refused; Clement instead, giving the two archbishops of Poland powers to suppress heresy.

February of 1526 saw the meeting of the Senate at Piotrkow. It was at this meeting that Sigismund received authority to proceed to settle the question in Danzig (which he thought he had done by restoring the Conservatives to power). It also prohibited Polish students from attending Protestant universities, placed a ban on the publishing and provided for the confiscation of Protestant writings, suggested the re-establishment of the Inquisition, and decreed that Protestant nobles had forfeited their lands and titles. Lasco attended this meeting and witnessed the efforts of his church to curb the growing Protestant threat.

The next year the synod met at Leczyc, and among the decisions arrived at there were: the provision for every bishop to select an Inquisitor whose task it would be to search out heresy; the provision for establishing in heretical areas learned preachers who would educate the people in the faith; and provision for the king to keep such a learned preacher at his court.

Lasco was witness to the turmoil and wrote to Basle, "Here there are only battles, dreadful battles, nothing else."[1] Not only was he bothered by the upheaval in his own country, but he missed the atmosphere of Basle. He had found, that upon his return from Basle, his uncle had made him the Administrator of Gnesen, and he wrote to Amerbach that he would gladly resign that office, which he had just received, for a trip to Basle.[2] He was nearly successful in luring Amerbach to permanent residence in Poland, and he tried repeatedly to lure Erasmus there, but without success. But if Erasmus would not come, then perhaps he would write on behalf of a reform of the Polish church. Finally, after much urging, Erasmus wrote a long letter to King Sigismund I, which he sent first to Lasco for editing, and another to Christopher Schydlowyetz, the Chancellor of Poland.[1] The letters, however, had no effect on the situation.

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[1] Dalton, p. 153.

[2] _Ibid_.

But if he could not induce the Basle humanists to come to Poland, and if he could not go to Basle, the next best thing was to surround himself with books. Accordingly, he instructed Johann Hess of Breslau, a humanist and reformer, to send him the latest books on the market, including those of Erasmus and Luther. He had also instructed Amerbach to send him the writings of Sadolet, a reforming bishop whose views were somewhat more radical than those of Erasmus. Even in the midst of this discontent, he was the recipient of yet one more ecclesiastical office. In 1531, just before the death of the Archbishop, he was made Provost of Gnesen and Leczyc.

This dissatisfaction with the state of things in Poland, his longing for the atmosphere of humanism, his reading of Erasmus, Sadolet, and Luther indicate that Lasco was, in these years from 1527 on, seriously considering the alternatives to the preservation of the status quo. By 1536 he had moved far enough toward the Reformation to give credence to a rumor that he had fled the country and had gone to Wittenberg. It was becoming increasingly apparent that he was undergoing a change of conviction, albeit, slowly.

Finally, unable to remain any longer in his situation, he appeared before Sigismund I and asked permission to leave the country. It was granted, along with letters of recommendation to the princes of other lands. Dalton insists that at this point the breach was made.[1] And indeed it was; yet neither Lasco, nor Sigismund, nor the Roman church knew it. There is a fragment of evidence or two, which suggests that, at this point, Lasco was bewildered and was simply taking a "leave of absence" in an attempt to find himself. True, he did not return for many years, and when he did, he did so as a reformer. In the first place, there is no evidence that he resigned his offices at this time. In fact, after he had gone, on March 21, 1538, the archdeaconry of Warsaw was bestowed upon him with Sigismund's consent, and he was offered the bishopric of Cujavia, which was perhaps an attempt to induce his return to the country, and which he refused. A few years later, we find him in great turmoil over the question of whether or not he should marry the girl whom he loved, for this would, indeed, mean a complete severing of ties with his homeland and church. The Cambridge History of Poland suggests that Lasco did not resign his prebend at Gnesen until 1542,[2] which would indicate that when he left the country, he did so leaving the possibility open for his return. However, he had married in 1540, which would automatically have cost him his offices. Yet, Spiegel suggests that Lasco may have kept his marriage a secret,[3] which would have enabled him to keep and to continue to draw the revenues of his offices. Strype, quoting a contemporary historian, Lavater, says that Lasco left Poland "'by the knowledge and permission of the King, to whom, for his excellent parts he was dear, and who did more than once make use of him in his difficult affairs.'"[1]

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[1] Erasmus, VII, pp. 65f.

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[1] Dalton, p. 567.

[2] Cambridge History of Poland, from the Origins to Sobieski (to 1696), ed. W.F. Reddaway, J.H. Penson, O. Halecki, R. Dyboski (Cambridge: University Press, 1950), I, p. 331.

[3] Bernhard Spiegel, D. Albert Rizäus Hardenberg (Bremen: C. Edward Müller, 1869), p. 21.

The question of dating Lasco's departure from Poland was unsettled until 1910 when Theodore Wotschke published a short article entitled, "Zum Lebensbilde Laski."[2] His biographers before this time put the date either in 1536[3] or in 1538[4] as does Smyth following Dalton[5] and Slade.[6] Lindeboom places it as late as 1540, which is quite incorrect.[7] Bartels based his dating on the statement made by Utenhove in his *Simplex et Fidelis Narratio de . . . Belgarum aliorumque Peregrinorum in Anglia Ecclesia*, Basle, 1560, that when Lasco returned to Poland in 1556, he had been gone from home more than twenty years. This, said Bartels, "is decisive."[8] Dalton and Slade base their dating on the statement of Statorius, the orator at the funeral of Lasco in 1560, who said that Lasco personally refused the bishopric of Cujavia when it was offered him and then asked permission to leave the country.[1] But Wotschke has disclosed correspondence that Lasco signed a receipt for Erasmus' library early in April, 1537, and that he wrote Amerbach on April 5 from Cracow. Melanchthon wrote to a friend, Camerarius, on May 1 saying that Lasco had entered Leipzig and had talked with him there. Wotschke is also able to state that when Lasco left Cracow, he traveled to Breslau, where he spent eight days, than moved on to Dresden and Freiburg and arrived in Pleissenburg on April 24. From there he journeyed to Leipzig. Thus, the date of his departure from Poland must have been close to April 10. Pascal, writing in 1894, says that Lasco went first to Wittenberg, and then to Basle where he paid the balance due on Erasmus' library, which, in the light of Wotschke's research, is incorrect.

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[1] Strype, *Ecclesiastical Memorials . . .*, II, p. 390.

[2] Theodore Wotschke, "Zum Lebensbilde Laski," *Archiv für Reformationsgeschichte*, VII, (1911), No. 31.

[3] Petrus Bartels, *Johannes a Lasco*, Vol. 9 of *Leben und ausgewählte Schriften der Väter und Brüder der reformirten Kirche*, ed. J.W. Baum, et. al. (Elberfield: R.L. Fredericks, 1860); and George Pascal, *Jean de Lasco, San Temps, Sa Vie, Ses Ouvres*, Thèse Présentée à la Faculté de Théologie Protestant de Paris (Paris: Henri Jouve, 1894).

[4] Dalton.

[5] Smyth.

[6] Slade.

[7] Lindeboom, pp. 3f.

[8] Bartels, p. 9.

Yet another item which needs discussion is the subject of the bishopric of Wesprim. From time to time one meets references which state that Lasco held this office, including the card catalogue of Yale University library, as well as a number of different dates referring to his appointment to it. This was the period when Zapolya and Ferdinand of Austria were at war for the crown of Hungary, and Lasco's brother, Jerome, was in the service of Zapolya. In 1528, Zapolya had been driven from Hungary and was able to return only because of the aid of the Turks. Even then, for some time, Ferdinand held the area in which

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[1] Dalton, p. 186; Slade, p. 23.

Wesprim was situated. The earliest date mentioned for Lasco's appointment to this office is that given by Krasinski, 1529, which office was offered through the efforts of Jerome on behalf of his brother, and as the means by which Zapolya could express his favor for the splendid diplomatic efforts of Jerome.[1] In March, 1530, Erasmus wrote to Amerbach, stating that he had word from the Royal Secretary, Justus, that Lasco had been made bishop in Hungary and that it was an accomplished fact.[2] Then in August, 1533, Lasco wrote to Erasmus saying that he rejected the Hungary Bishopric which he had been offered.[3] Pascal states that in 1536 Lasco had been made bishop of Wesprim.[4] D'Aubigne says that Lasco was appointed in 1536 to this office, but that Sigismund offered him the bishopric of Cujavia instead. This is too early, as we have seen, for the offer of the Cujavian bishopric.

What probably happened is this: the vacant bishopric was the object of a political tug of war between Zapolya on the one hand, and the Pope and Ferdinand on the other, each attempting to fill the office with his own man. As a result, the office remained vacant over the years, with Zapolya offering it several times to the brother of his most trusted and brilliant minister, Jerome Laski. Lasco stood little chance of papal consecration, since Zapolya had been excommunicated for bringing the pagan Turks into a Christian conflict. The seating of Zapolya's candidate in the contested See would undoubtedly have been much to his benefit in the political struggle, and this, rather than the motives of gratitude and reward, was probably the reason for Zapolya's offer. Lasco's indifference, added to the papal opposition, caused Zapolya to be unsuccessful in seating his candidate. There are no extant records that Lasco ever was consecrated to the office, or that he ever drew any of its benefits. He was never bishop of Wesprim. Ridley is correct in saying that Lasco was not bishop of Wesprim, but he is in error for stating that he lost it because he married.[1] Such wanton use of church offices and officials for the achievement of political ends may also have been a powerful influence in causing Lasco to renounce the Roman system.

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[1] Count Valerian Krasinski, Historical Sketch of the Rise, Progress, and Decline of the Reformation in Poland (2 vols.; London: Privately printed, 1838), I, p. 243.

[2] Erasmus, VIII, p. 369.

[3] Ibid., X, p. 294.

[4] Pascal, p. 106.

We have mentioned that Lasco was dissatisfied with the situation in Poland and that he longed for his old friends and the atmosphere at Basle, and we suggested that when he left Poland, he did so in order to find himself and the answers to questions which were plaguing him. So far as it can be determined, Lasco never experienced a sudden and immediate conversion as Luther did. Neither was he bothered with the sense of sin and the problem of subjective religious peace, as was the Wittenberg reformer. Indeed, the considerable difficulty between the Reformed and the Lutheran segments of the Reformation was partly due to this difference of approach to the question. If and when Calvin ever had a conversion experience is yet a matter of debate. The same is true for Zwingli. Both men had extensive humanistic education and found themselves, as Lasco did, driven by circumstances to the task of reformation which was the thing they had least thought of doing. The experience of one of Lasco's Basle friends, Henry Glareanus, with whom Lasco studied Greek, is another case in point. He, too, was a humanist who had studied Caesar, Livy, Homer, mathematics, music, and philosophy. He, too, had been a friend of Erasmus and Zwingli, and had been sympathetic and interested in Zwingli's reformation. But from 1523 he was alien to the Reformation, preferring instead Erasmianism.[1] Thus, when Lasco left Poland, it was much the same question with him. Would he, as his beloved teacher, prefer a moderate and humanistic course, or would he follow the advice of Zwingli, and by now the example of Luther, and base his reform entirely upon Scripture, attempting to begin anew rather than to bolster that which was quite corrupt? How long it took to answer this, we do not know, but certainly by 1540 the question was resolved.

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[1] Jasper Ridley, Thomas Cranmer (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1962), p. 284.

In 1544, when introducing himself to Bullinger by letter, he wrote of his past experience in this way:

> In brief, to make known to you also the benefit and kindness of the Lord toward me, I was once a Pharisee of repute, adorned with many titles and dignities, splendidly endowed with many rich benefices from the days of my boyhood; but now, after I have voluntarily left all this behind, through the grace of God, after I have given up my country and my friends, because I saw that I could not live in the midst of them according to Christ's mind and spirit; I am now in a strange land, only a poor servant of my poor Lord Christ, crucified

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[1] Dr. Herzog, "Glareanus," Real-Encyklopädie für protestantische Theologie und Kirche (Stuttgart: Rudolph Besser, 1856), V.

> for me, lately here [East Friesland] minister of the church, to make known the doctrine of the Gospel, after the will of him, who, by his compassion, has called me out of the net of Pharisaism into his flock.[1]

D. Voluntary Exile, Wanderings, Labors at Emden

It has already been stated that when Lasco left Cracow, he moved through Breslau, Dresden, Freiburg, Pleissenburg, and Leipzig. After a conference with Melanchthon, he continued to Frankfort where he arrived in time for the summer book fair. He lodged with Hadrianus, a book seller, who, in future years, secured books for him. Also staying with Hadrianus was a young monk on a journey to Italy, but who was, at that moment, smitten with fever. Albert Hardenberg (d. 1574) was a native of the Netherlands, a former member of the Brothers' House of Groningen, which he had entered as a boy, but presently a member of the Bernardine Convent at Aduard. He had spent eight years studying at Louvain for a bachelor's degree, but was refused the degree because of his liberal tendencies. Here in Frankfort began a life long friendship between the two men.

The chronology of these next years is not clear, and approximations are in order. Sometime after Hardenberg recovered from his illness, the two men made their way to Mainz, where, a year later, Hardenberg received the Doctor's degree. What Lasco did during this time is not known, but it is probable that he studied, still attempting to come to some decision about his position toward the Reformation. Hardenberg, too, had leanings toward the Reformation, and the two men probably spent long hours discussing the pros and cons of reform, and out of these discussions began to come definite answers. From Mainz, the two journeyed toward the Netherlands, which was ruled by Mary, sister of Charles V, widow of the late king of Hungary, Zapolya, and a humanist and patron of the Reformation. Arriving in Louvain, Lasco now entered upon a year of study, even though Louvain was anti-Protestant. He was regarded with suspicion, and Hardenberg encountered some difficulty because of his acquaintance. Lasco also became acquainted here with another Reformation figure, Francisco de Enzinas, better known as Dryander.

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[1] Kuyper, II, p. 569.

Lasco and Hardenberg roomed at the home of a widow, Antoinette van Rosmeers, of an honest and principal family of the town, who had one grown daughter. Her home was the center for Protestant activity in Louvain, and discussions, readings, services of prayer and worship were frequently held, with Lasco taking part. Rather than to state that he was now a Protestant, it would seem more apropos to state that from these sessions Lasco was led to make his final decision. His study with Roman Catholics during the day, and his participation in the evangelical meetings in the evenings provided the answers for which he had been seeking, and *from 1540 on, it can be said that he was Protestant*.

Hardenberg's biographer, Spiegel, mentions that while the two men were living together in Louvain, Lasco was often disagreeable and impudent. But this, he says, can be attributed to the fact that Lasco was courting a young lady, and that he was contemplating breaking his vows of chastity through marriage. Not an easy decision! Spiegel magnanimously continues that Hardenberg also was probably quite disagreeable when faced with the same decision some years later. Who Lasco's bride was is not known. While his correspondence contains several references to his wife, only once does he mention her as "Trutje."[1] The naturalization papers in English records reveal her first name as Barbara.[2] But could we not suppose that his wife was the grown daughter of Antoinette van Rosmeers? The situation was ideal for courtship.

Soon after his marriage, Charles V enforced anti-Reformation strictures in the Netherlands. Hardenberg was accused of hersy and banished from the city, and his library was burned. Lasco and his wife went to East Friesland, while Hardenberg returned to the convent at Aduard. In March, 1543, the evangelical group was discovered and martyred by burning.

Lasco's self imposed exile had become known to the various heads of state in Europe, and during his three years of wandering he had received invitations from several to enter their service, among whom were Charles V, Ferdinand of Austria, Albert of Prussia, and Count Enno II of East Friesland. The situation in Frisia was one of toleration and freedom, though by default rather than by conviction. In many churches the mass was said, and Protestant sermons preached in the same sanctuary, until attendance at one or the other no longer warranted its continuance. Into this situation had also come several of the Protestant sects, the "left wing" groups. Prior to 1528, Frisia was much advanced in

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[1] Spiegel, p. 137.

[2] Rymer, XV, pp. 238f.

Lutheranism as the result of the favor of Count Edzard II, who had hired a Lutheran preacher, Aportanus. At his death in 1528, his son, Count Enno II, saw Protestantism as the excuse for enriching the royal treasury and began to confiscate monastic properties, though he had little concern for doctrine. His widow, Countess Anne, ruled as Queen Mother from his death in 1540. It was in the fall of this year that Lasco and his wife entered the country.

Once settled in a humble lodging near the center of the town of Emden, which lay at the mouth of the Ems river where it empties into the North Sea, he wrote to Poland asking that his library be shipped to him, and to Hardenberg at Aduard, informing him of duplicates in his library and offering them to the monastery for a sum. During this first winter, he was not well and complained of vomiting, exhaustion, and dizziness when reading. Yet, he did not complain, for it is God, "who is reminding me in grace, with such bodily admonitions, of my guilt and my obligation to him."[1] In the spring, his health improved. During this first year, he continued his study. Now that he had become Protestant, the decision must be made as to whether he should be Lutheran or Reformed. How seriously he considered Lutheranism is a matter of conjecture, since his earliest contact was with Zwingli, and since he was repulsed and angered by Luther's coarse and vehement attacks on Erasmus. When the decision was made, it proved to be in the direction of the Reformed segment of Protestantism, though with minor differences caused by his own personality and the circumstances under which he worked.

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[1] Dalton, p. 233.

During 1541-42, he visited Amsterdam occasionally, twice refused offers to become the pastor of the main church in Emden, journeyed to Poland to attend the funeral of his brother, Jerome, and was successful in convincing Hardenberg to leave the monastery. His correspondence with Hardenberg in 1541 is evidence enough that Lasco is now thoroughly Protestant, and quite zealous as well.

> It is the task of a theologian to admonish everyone of his guilt and duty. If your superiors will yield no obedience to the admonition, nay, if they will not suffer you to admonish, if they compel you to suppress it and to dissemble, and you yield to them, is that to reprove with boldness? . . . For we have no idol which we worship; but you (the Roman church) worship as God that abomination which you set up in the holy place of public worship, and are the servants of such idolatry. . . . I believe it is the spirit of God who says, 'Come out from among them and be ye separate'. . . I love you my Albert, as ever; but your dilatoriness I do not love.[1]

Accordingly, in the spring of 1543, Hardenberg arrived at the Lasco residence and exchanged his habit for street clothes, and Mrs. Lasco stored the woolen garment so the moths would not destroy it. Hardenberg then went to Wittenberg to study with Melanchthon, and from there to aid the work of the Reformation in Cologne.

In 1546, Lasco was also successful in persuading a nun, Drusilla, who was Gertrude Syssinge of Groningen, to leave the convent, and was then further successful in arranging a match between her and Hardenberg, who were married the next year.

In the spring of 1543, Countess Anne offered Lasco the position of Superintendent of the Frisian churches, which he accepted on the condition that he be free to return to Poland to further the reformation there should the opportunity present itself. His friends in Poland, upon being informed of his position, offered him a bishopric, to which offer his reaction was, "It is asking me to return to my vomit. I will have no apostleship invested with a monk's cowl or a bishop's tiara."[1]

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[1] Kuyper, II, p. 557.

As Superintendent he discovered that he had opponents on several fronts. There were the remaining Roman Catholics, the influx of Anabaptists, two strong Lutheran centers at Bremen and Norden, and finally the native "Epicureans." Problems with the Roman Catholics centered in the Franciscan monastery at Emden, and in the removal of images from churches. The Franciscans, under the easy freedom of Enno II, continued to preach, baptize, and operate generally much as they had before. As Superintendent, Lasco forbade their operations outside the limits of monastic property, whereupon they replied that they owed no obedience to this "stranger." Lasco proposed a debate but was refused. The monks now appealed to Count John, the brother of the deceased Enno, who had married the daughter of Charles V, and who was waiting for an opportunity to gain Frisia for himself. He now came to Emden and conversed with Lasco, but to no avail. The monks, having no recourse, retired to their monastery and ceased outside activity, though the group remained in existence until 1561. On the question of images, which were still quite numerous in churches which had become Protestant, Lasco pressed for their immediate removal, but met opposition from the populace and even from the Countess herself. This occasioned a short tract and a long letter. The tract, De Fugiendo Papistis illicitis Sacris, was designed for public consumption, and sets forth the argument that indecision is bad, and that any practice or service not founded in Scripture is harmful and wrong (a Reformed position, definitely, rather than Lutheran). The long letter was addressed to the Countess. In it Lasco said that he had taken the post because he had supposed the Countess to be a supporter of the Reformation, but that he found her too easily drawn aside by her counselors rather than listening to the will of God. Stating that he realized his position as a stranger, and as a family man who had need of an income and a settled state of affairs, he nevertheless was a servant of the Gospels and would not be a servant to human wisdom and custom. Therefore, unless the Countess conceded to the removal of images, he would be forced to surrender his office.[1] Whereupon, the Countess yielded, cautioning only that they be removed as inconspicuously as possible, and a few at a time, so that no stir result from the foolish.[2]

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[1] Ibid., p. 588.

In 1544, an ambassador from Charles V appeared in Emden and demanded that the Countess expel Lasco from the realm as a trouble maker and perjured man. But Anne held fast, assuring the ambassador that she could not do without him. Lasco, speaking of the situation, said, "I know that these people will not cease from their machinations until they have succeeded in driving me hence."[3] It was also in this year that he received an invitation from Bucer to come to Colgne as the preacher for the church there, which he refused.

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[1] Dalton, pp. 253f.

[2] _Ibid_., pp. 255f.

[3] Kuyper, II, p. 581.

The adamant spirit exhibited here by Lasco became much more mellow when he dealt with heretics, and this with the consent of the Countess. For example, Charles V had threatened a trade embargo if the various sects were not driven out of Frisia, and the authorities feared for the welfare of the country. Lasco chided them for being more fearful of an edict of the Emperor than of the judgement of God. "They are prepared, if God permits it, to banish sects, not for the sake of God, but for the sake of the Emperor."[1] Lasco differentiated between those groups who were overzealous, outspoken, and apt to disturb the peace, and those who were quiet and inoffensive. To the ministers of the various churches of Frisia was given the task of examining these persons and deciding whether or not they would be allowed to stay. One group which was banished completely was the Davidians, or Jorists. This group had been founded about 1500 by Johann David Joris, a merchant of Delft. He had proclaimed himself to be the prophet of the sect, which was expecting the imminent return of Christ. Joris, banished from the Netherlands, resided in Basle under a disguise and managed to become quite rich. He directed the activities of his movement from there. After his death in 1556, his identity became known and his books and portrait were burned.

Lasco's treatment of the Mennonites, however, was different. They had come to Frisia in 1528 and were a quiet group. Coming to Emden as the leader of the group, about the same time as Lasco, was Menno, son of the founder. The two debated publicly on occasion, with neither converting the other. The points of doctrine at issue were: (a) whether Christ received his flesh from Mary and thus had our sinful flesh, or whether he had a divine flesh which he brought with him; (b) an interpretation of John 1:14, "the Word became flesh," which was interpreted by the Anabaptists to mean that the eternal Word was not localized in the person of Jesus Christ, but was dispersed to all men, and that it was in, and became, all men. This resulted in pantheism.

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[1] Ibid., p. 574.

Menno proclaimed victory in certain public statements, to which proclamations Lasco replied by saying that he was not interested in personal victory, but only in contributing to a better understanding of those doctrines which had rent the church asunder.[1] While Menno soon left Emden, voluntarily, the group was permitted to remain. Out of this controversy came _De Christi Incarnatione Adversus Mennonem_, which was published in 1545, and which set forth orthodox arguments for the Incarnation.

The remaining two difficulties, those of the Lutheran "hard core" and the "Epicureans," arose from Lasco's attempts at church administration and ecclesiastical discipline. The church in Frisia, because of the lax policies of Enno II during the decade of the fifteen thirties, had been pulled in various directions and lacked a sense of unity and purpose. It was Lasco's task to impart these to it. The Reformers were yet medievalists in their thinking to the extent that unity and purpose must be manifested in oneness of doctrine, practice, discipline, and organization. The thinking of our contemporary ecumenical movement, that unity can be found in diversity, and that diversity often contributes to a richness and depth of expression and practice, was unknown to them. Therefore, Lasco set about his task of formulating doctrine, stipulating practice, establishing discipline, and evolving an organization. His newness to the situation, his short term in this capacity (five years), and the difficulties which he encountered, prevented him from accomplishing any of these items fully, even in his own thinking, and maturity of thought on these matters did not occur until his residence in England, 1550-53.

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[1] _Ibid._, p. 7.

Attempts at formulating doctrine were two, Epitome Doctrinae Ecclesiae Frisiae Orientalis, written in 1544, and Catechismus Emdanus Maior, written in 1546, but which, because of his resignation, was unpublished until 1551 in England. The Epitome, from the beginning, "met a bad press" and as a result, not more than four handwritten copies were made. Perhaps its first printing was Kuyper's edition.[1] One copy was sent to Entfelder in Königsberg, a second to Duke Albert of Prussia, who forwarded it to Melanchthon, a third to Hardenberg at Strassburg who sent it to Bucer and Bullinger. Neither Wittenberg nor Zurich were entirely pleased with it, and on the advice of friends, Lasco never published it. It began with a statement that is reminiscent of Calvin's Institutes--Christian doctrine revolved around two main points, the knowledge of God and the knowledge of ourselves, the knowledge of God being the mirror for a knowledge of ourselves. There then followed the usual statement of Reformed doctrine, concerning Adam's sin, our sin, our salvation in Christ, faith, Scripture, preaching, and the sacraments.

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[1] Ibid., I, p. 481.

The Catechism fared better. It was distributed to the ministers who were to teach it to the children on Sunday afternoons, as was later done in the Strangers' churches, and twice each year it was recited before the congregation by the youths who were desiring full membership in the church.

So far as ecclesiastical usages are concerned, no literary production from Lasco on the subject was forthcoming. Not until his composition of the Forma ac Ratio did he put into writing his conception of Church Order. He had intended to do this while in Emden but the press of duties kept him from it. It is reasonably certain, however, that his Church Order in Emden was similar to that which he used in London.

An essential part of church life was discipline. Lasco wrote,

> I told the council we should never want for sectaries so long as we were severe towards others and lenient towards the vices in our own midst. So long as they prevailed among us, we should have to make a distinction between those who submit to the Church's regulations and those who despise the Church of God and its discipline.[1]

Discipline, then, was not only for the purpose of correcting and preserving the morals of the saints, but was also a means of determining who were heretics. In the summer of 1544, Lasco organized four men to work with the ministers of the Emden churches in the task of overseeing the lives of the parishioners, of exhorting, admonishing, and excluding those who failed to heed. These men were known now as presbyters, or elders, and were equal to the ministers in standing, and were laymen. Lasco made visitations throughout Frisia checking the doctrine and morals of his ministers and their congregations. But there were those who did not bear this discipline good-naturedly. "The real ground of all attacks, I know, is that those who till now thought they could indulge in anything they liked, without any law, will not now submit to be censured and called to order by us."[1] For some time the situation was uncertain. "If our people are content with church discipline in accordance with the Word of God, I remain their preacher; but if not, then they will probably expel me. For wittingly or willingly I will spare no one, and therefore expect that they will not long tolerate me."[2]

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[1] Ibid., II, p. 574.

As a further aid to discipline, and as an organizational procedure, he established the Coetus, or Preachers' Assembly. Every Monday morning during the spring and summer the ministers of Frisia met in Emden for a discussion of problems, doctrine, and each other's morals. The laity were also invited to these meetings and were permitted to speak. The Coetus also tested and approved candidates for the ministry. Again, there were those who disliked the institution of the Coetus. The Lutheran ministers refused to attend, and then attacked Lasco as a sacramentarian. The Countess enjoined them to attend, but they again refused. They joined forces with the "Epicureans" and brought increasing pressures to bear upon Lasco.

Finally, in 1546, he wrote an impassioned letter to Herman Lenthius, Secretary to the Countess. All that he has been able to accomplish in three years, he said, has been some unity in doctrine. He had placed his hope in the Countess, whom he had thought was concerned for the advancement of true religion in Frisia, but evidently she was not, and if not she had no further need of his services. "Our business is, so I hear, only to preach. To this I reply, that we have not at all to preach to swine and dogs." Discipline is suppressed, vice is prevalent, sects are proliferating, and the monks yet have idols. "These are the visible fruits of the Gospel now already so long preached among us, and yet it is still constantly said to us, 'Only preach!'"[1] In the spring of this year he resigned, and accepted the pastorate of the chief church in Emden on the condition that he have perfect freedom of action. In May, negotiations were opened between him and the Countess and by mid-June he was Superintendent again. The Lutherans now joined the Coetus and the ministers were enjoined to conformity in doctrine and practice upon pain of deposition. With a note of triumph, he wrote to Hardenberg, "The truth is unconquerable."[2]

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[1] _Ibid_., p. 575.

[2] _Ibid._

Another, and most commendable phase of Lasco's work was his superintendence of the schools of Frisia. All children, from ages five or six, were obligated to attend school, where, among other things, they learned the Apostles' Creed, the Decalogue, and the Pater Noster. Magistrates were to compel attendance. Where parents were not able to pay the fees, the church was to do so. When the children had gotten old enough to learn a trade or service, they were to do so, upon pain of punishment. Gifted children were to be marked for teaching and were to be kept in school at community and church expense that they may be properly prepared. If the conditions warranted, they were to be sent abroad for study, also at church and community expense.

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[1] *Ibid.*, p. 596.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 608.

There was no more divisive and embittering issue in the sixteenth century than the doctrine of the Lord's Supper, and perhaps none more confusing, once it had been subjected to the analyses of the various reformers. Lasco was not without involvement in this issue, and attempted to maintain and advance his own peculiar conception. The entire issue will be discussed in Chapter Five, and therefore, a brief word will suffice here. In his *Epitome* he stated that the Sacraments were two, Baptism and the Lord's Supper, and that they were seals by which God made valid in our hearts that which he had promised us through the death of Christ and the testimony of the Holy Spirit. The two Sacraments were analogous to the rites of circumcision and the Feast of the Passover in the Old Testament. In his *Catechism*, of 250 questions, only thirty-six deal with the Sacraments, and of these, only eleven with the Lord's Supper.

In April of 1544, he wrote a work of a few pages, entitled *Epistola ad quendam doctum de verbis Coenae*, which he sent to Pellican in August. This work was published in 1551 in London by Lasco as a preface to Bullinger's reply to Luther (1546), *Absoluta de Christi Domini et catholicae eius ecclesiae Sacramentis*, under the title, *Epistola Joannis a'Lasco ante Quinquennium ad amicum quendam scripta, continens in se summam controversiae Coenae Domini breviter explicatam*.

In the Epistola, in addition to stating that the sacraments were seals, he posited two realms, the physical and the spiritual, and stated that the sacraments had to do with the spiritual realm, "mysteria," upon the basis of a passage from Chrysostom in his Homilies on the Gospel of Matthew, where he spoke of a spiritual receiving of the Lord in the Supper and of the believer's fellowship in the "mysteria" of the bread. He also diverted attention from the elements themselves to the entire action of the Supper. The "Hoc est" referred, he said, to I Corinthians 11:25 where Paul spoke of the "communion of the body of Christ." Thus, it is the "communion," or the entire action of the Supper in which our fellowship with the body of Christ is sealed. Dalton interprets Lasco as being closer to Calvin and Melanchthon than to Zwingli.[1] It will be shown, however, in Chapter Five, that Lasco is Zwinglian through and through.

During these years in Emden, Lasco and his wife were blessed with five children, two daughters and three sons, the eldest son living only three months. The daughters were Barbara and Susan, and the surviving sons, John and Jerome. When the boys were old enough, Lasco hired Gottfried Wyngius, a native of Liege and successor to Peter Deloene as pastor of the Strangers' Church in 1563, as tutor.

When Lasco first arrived in Emden he lived in his own private house, but upon becoming Superintendent, he was assigned quarters in the Franciscan cloister. In the autumn of 1546 he bought a country place on the road from Emden to Aurich. The price was 4500 gulden, and several friends became joint purchasers with him, from whom he gradually bought their shares. He stocked it with cattle, and dairy products were plenteous, his wife selling butter, cheese, and milk to help meet the mortgage.

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[1] Dalton, p. 321.

This domestic felicity was not to be long enjoyed. In the spring of 1547, Charles V had been victorious against Protestant forces at Schmalkald. The Diet of Augsburg in the fall of that year assented to the terms of the Interim which had been prepared by Charles, and which would be the temporary basis for uniting the church until the Council of Trent could settle the issue. The Protestants were allowed to have married priests, the cup for the laity, and less rigid fasting. The Roman Catholics were to have the supremacy of the Pope, seven sacraments, the doctrine of transubstantiation, intercession to saints, and the full complement of processions and ceremonies.

Commenting on the tumultuous condition resulting from the terms of the Interim, Lasco again revealed his position that whatever was not commanded by Scripture, was unlawful. "As always, so do I still in the present day think of the diets in regard to religious affairs. If we undertake to guide and advance matters of religion by human foresight and prudence, it is a downhill course with them, from the moment we think we can strengthen them with human safeguards."[1]

In August, 1548, the Imperial messenger appeared in Emden demanding submission to the Interim. The Countess was in Heidelberg and Lasco was preparing to visit England. The Countess, upon her return, forestalled as long as possible. In February of 1549, she sent Friedrich ter Westen to Brussels to negotiate with Charles. But Westen wrote back that all was lost if she longer delayed. Meanwhile, Lasco, who had traveled incognito to England, wrote to the ministers of Frisia urging them to stand fast and obey the Gospel rather than men, and offered them haven in England if they should be exiled. On March 20, Lasco returned and counseled with the Countess. On April 9, he wrote to Cecil that they were expecting with the greatest certainty the cross and persecution.[1]

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[1] *Ibid.*, p. 328.

Knowing that he must shortly leave Emden, he began casting about for a refuge. He had already been to England and had been offered shelter on the best terms (see Chapter One). In 1548, Sigismund Augustus had succeeded his father as king of Poland, and Lasco, holding the hope that Augustus would declare decisively for the Reformation, wrote him, expecting to be recalled to his homeland where he might spend his energies in the cause of the Gospel. During his years as an exile, 1537-40, he had received an invitation from Albert, Duke of Prussia, to settle there, and he now attempted to search out the possibilities. Accordingly, in this summer, he journeyed to Danzig, and then to Königsberg, where he counseled with Duke Albert. But no place was found for him in Prussia, and no word came from Poland. During Lasco's absence the Interim was enforced in Frisia and upon his return in August, he found the churches closed and the loyal congregations holding services in the out of doors. He promptly joined them.

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[1] Kuyper, II, p. 621.

Attempts were being made at this time among Brandenburg, Saxony, Mecklenburg, Prussia, England, Poland, and Brunswick to form a league against the Emperor, a North German Federation. Lasco had had contact with three of these countries. It is understandable, then, that word arrived from Charles that Lasco was not only preaching heresy in the Emperor's domains, but that he was guilty of sedition by being an agent for those countries involved in the formation of opposition. The Countess now urged him to leave, and after a farewell banquet and a parting testimonial, which he refused, he withdrew October, 1549. The Countess wrote a testimonial of him stating that he was blameless, a man of faith, integrity, learning, and unwearied diligence; she would fain have kept him during her entire reign if she dared. She had asked him to depart for his own good, and requested that he return when it was safe to do so.[1] He wintered at Bremen, and in April, 1550, went to Hamburg where the following month he boarded a boat for England, having left his family at Emden until he should send for them.

E. The Sojourn in England

As has been said, Lasco had been invited to England, along with other Continental theologians for the purpose of conferring upon the major points of Christian doctrine. During his first visit in the winter of 1548-49, Cranmer was his gracious host for his stay of nearly eight months. When he arrived, Cranmer was absent from Lambeth, but Lasco felt quite welcome and secure. "It is," he wrote, "a great thing in itself to be assured of an asylum where we can live, together with those whom the bond of the same spirit unites with us in the Lord, and in the confession of our faith."[1] During December he was dangerously ill. Parliament began to meet in November and a discussion of the forthcoming Book of Common Prayer ensued, which Lasco probably watched with great interest. Though the conference, for which he had come to England, did not meet, Lasco was not idle. The Interim would soon be enforced at home and the choice for Lasco lay either in submission or banishment, and he had already decided upon the latter. Perhaps it would be possible to settle in England with members of his congregation, for there were already French and German refugees here who were meeting for worship according to the Reformed tradition, rather than the Anglican. How could he fit into this picture? This, he undoubtedly discussed with Cranmer and Cecil, and with other men of influence, such as John Cheke and Dr. William Turner. As was said in the previous chapter, it is quite probable that many of the details of the settlement of the Strangers and Lasco's superintendence were worked out at this time.

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[1] Dalton, p. 346.

The testimony of John ab Ulmis had raised a question concerning Lasco that is not yet settled, and doubtless, will never be. Ulmis had written Bullinger on August 18, 1548, that Cranmer had published a catechism "in which he has not only approved that foul and sacrilegious transubstantiation of the papists in the holy supper of our Savior, but all the dreams of Luther seem to him sufficiently well-grounded, perspicuous, and lucid."[1] Admittedly, Ulmis had not read the catechism, A Short Instruction into the Christian Religion, for if he had, he would have discovered that, while this was, indeed, Cranmer's translation of the Lutheran catechism of Justus Jonas, Cranmer had altered the text concerning the Supper so that it was much closer to the view of Calvin and Bucer than to Luther, let alone the Roman view. However, Ulmis was disturbed. In November, he again wrote Bullinger, stating that "the abominable error and silly opinion of a carnal eating (i.e., both transubstantiation and consubstantiation) has been long since banished and entirely done away with." (Italics mine.) (Evidently Ulmis had read the catechism by now.) He then proceeded to say that Cranmer had fallen into a dangerous lethargy, but that he has now been aroused from it by the instrumentality of Lasco.[2] The problem, then, is just what part did Lasco play in the change that evidently took place in Cranmer's views on the Supper. Those who are committed to Anglicanism, such as Jasper Ridley,[3] reply, none, pointing to the fact that Cranmer himself says that he was converted by Ridley as early as 1546. Those of more moderate positions, such as Smyth,[4] reply, some, stating that Cranmer was influenced by Lasco at the point of locating the communion of the body of Christ in the entire action, or use, of the Supper, rather than in the elements alone. Then there are those who would take Ulmis at face value and attribute Cranmer's change in opinion entirely to Lasco. This will be discussed more fully in the final chapter.

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[1] Kuyper, II, p. 620.

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[1] O. L., p. 381.

[2] Ibid., p. 383.

[3] Ridley.

[4] Smyth.

When Lasco took his leave in March, 1549, Cranmer wrote that their relationship had been a most excellent one,[1] and Lasco received from the treasury a sum of money, perhaps, to help cover his travel, perhaps, to induce him to return. "xiij^{o} of Februarie, 1548. The same Thresaurer (Mr. Williams) had warrant for l^{ii} in reward to Johannes de Alasco."[2]

After Lasco had gone, Hugh Latimer was preaching before young Edward on the twenty-second of March in which sermon he said,

> Johannes Alasco was here, a great and learned man, and as they say, a nobleman in his country, and is gone away again; if it be for lack of entertainment, the more pity. I would wish such men as he to be in this realm; for the realm should prosper in the receiving of them: 'Qui vos recipit me recipit,' 'Who receiveth you, receiveth me,' saith Christ; and it should be for the king's honor to receive them and to keep them.[3]

Hooper, who had fled to the Continent during the latter years of Henry's reign, and who was now on his way back to England, wrote to Bullinger from Antwerp, April 26, 1549, that he heard that Frisia had received the Interim, and that if this was the case, then Lasco would be returning to England shortly, where his presence was needed to counteract the Lutheranism of Bucer, Martyr, and Ochino.

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[1] Thomas Cranmer, Miscellaneous Writings and Letters, Parker Society Publications (Cambridge: University Press, 1846), p. 425.

[2] Acts of the Privy Council of England, ed. J.R. Dasent (London: Eyre and Spottiswoode, 1890), 1547-50, 1550-52, II and III, p. 244.

[3] Hugh Latimer, Sermons, ed. G.E. Corrie, Parker Society Publications (Cambridge: University Press, 1846), p. 141.

Lasco's second arrival in England, May 13, 1550, was much noticed by his sympathizers. Martyr, Micronius, and Christopher Hales all mention it.[1] Soon after his arrival, he discovered that the heated question of the Lord's Supper was smoldering, and he had no desire to see it flame up at this juncture, and he cautioned Bucer against raising the issue, suggesting that the two of them meet privately to discuss it. In September he journeyed to Cambridge where the two conferred, the result being that they agreed on everything except the corporal presence of Christ in the Supper. Lasco had consistently misunderstood Bucer's doctrine of the Eucharist, as have others even to the present day, for Bucer's position can be interpreted easily as either Lutheranism or Calvinism.[2] An example of Lasco's confusion is found in his letter, of June 23, 1545, to Hardenberg which he wrote after he had received Bucer's comments on his Epitome. He said that there was really very little difference between the two, Bucer holding that in the bread and wine the body and blood are given and received, "dari ac percipi," while he held that we eat and drink spiritually when we eat and drink physically. The sacraments, being seals, seal to us and in us the communion of the body and blood when they are received. "Thus your 'dari ac percipi' does not seem to be very far from my 'obsignari.'"[3] Perhaps, it was now, at this September meeting, that Lasco realized how far apart the two were in their conception of the Supper, for Bucer shortly wrote out his opinions and submitted them to Lasco for criticism, and Lasco promptly set about the task and returned them to Bucer, who unexpectedly died in February of the following year. Before his death, Bucer prepared for Lasco his reply to Lasco's refutation, but did not send it. Of this, Lasco wrote to Bullinger, April 10, 1551, Bucer "had also begun, as I hear, to reply to me, but I have seen nothing of that, though I should have liked to see it. But as far as I understand, he persisted in his opinion of the presence of Christ and of the real exhibition of the body and blood of Christ with the signs, or in the signs, or through the signs. I will send you shortly what he had sent to me, and what I had answered him in return."[1] Again, Lasco wrote Bullinger, June 7: "The correspondence I had with Bucer before his death concerning the sacramental question, I have not with me now, for it is in the hands of my Lord of Canterbury, who is now away from here. When I have it again, I will send you a copy. You will marvel, I know well, when you have read it through."[2] The obvious conclusion is that Bucer, in the weeks before his death, had been convinced of the validity of Lasco's sacramental doctrine. Lasco, not wanting to bypass an opportunity, had immediately sent Bucer's reply to Cranmer. While Lasco considered the doctrine of the Supper important, and addressed himself to it, he seemed distressed that it caused so much dissension. His word of caution to Bucer and their private Conference are examples of his desire to keep dissension in the background. He once received the Supper from a Lutheran minister, and he was gratified by the signing of the Consensus Tigurinus, August 30, 1549, in which the Calvinists and Zwinglians reached an agreement, albeit at the expense of the latter, as is seen in his letter to Bullinger, January 7, 1551.[1]

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[1] O. L., pp. 483, 560, and 187.

[2] Smyth, Chap. 5.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 186.

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[1] *Ibid.*, p. 172.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 173.

Upon his second arrival in London, Lasco again stayed with Cranmer for about six weeks, and then took a house in Bow Lane and sent for his family. They were immediately made denizens of England. "Alasco, John, Baron of Poland, professor of sacred theology, and Barbara, his wife, and also John, Jerome, Barbara, and Susan, his children, with a grant to John Alasco of an annuity of 100 pounds. 27 June, 1550."[2] December 17, 1550, on the day that the German congregation received the key to Austin Friars, Barbara a Lasco gave birth to their sixth child, a boy. In July of 1551, the sweating sickness broke out in London, and on the tenth, 100 men died of it, and the day following, 120 died. The Lascos were also smitten, and at the invitation of Cranmer, they went to his palace at Croyden to convalesce. Lasco recovered, but his wife's illness lingered for more than a year, and in August of 1552 she died, leaving him with the five children. Lasco's grief was great, and out of his sorrow he praised her character and integrity and spoke of her as the other side of himself.[3] His Monday

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[1] Kuyper, II, p. 646.

[2] Denizations and Naturalizations of Aliens in England, 1509-1603, Publications of the Huguenot Society of London, ed. William Page (Lymington: 1893), VIII, p. 3. The Latin text is preserved by Rymer, XV, pp. 238f.

[3] Kuyper, II, p. 675.

Latin lectures were canceled due to his grief and the heavy burden of caring for the children and house. January 29, 1553, he remarried; a woman of whom we know only that her name was Katherine. Martyr approved his action saying that if he had as many children as Lasco, he would have done the same.[1] Micronius informed Bullinger of the fact,[2] as did Lasco.[3]

The Vestment Controversy affords us an insight into Lasco's theological position. After his return from Europe where he had been greatly influenced by the Zurich theology, John Hooper had been nominated to the see of Gloucester, April 7, 1550. He declined on the grounds that the form of the Oath of the King's Supremacy contained objectional passages, and that the use of the traditional vestments were unscriptural residue from the papal religion. The Council, overruling the objections of the bishops, appointed him on May 15. The bishops refused to consecrate him. The next month, Hooper appeared before the King who struck the objectional parts of the oath from the ceremony. Hooper now went the rounds between Cranmer, Ridley, and the Council, which was yet favoring him. But the persuasions of Ridley caused many of it to withdraw their support from Hooper, who now was forbidden to appear before it to continue his case. Now, Lasco entered the dispute. In October he wrote Cranmer of his position, supporting his arguments with proof texts: Genesis 2:17; I Samuel 15:22;

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[1] Dalton, p. 343.

[2] O. L., pp. 581f.

[3] Kuyper, II, p. 675.

Deuteronomy 12:32; 18:20; Jeremiah 23:16; Exodus 25:40; John 5:44; 7:18, all of which have to do with obedience to the explicit commands of God. Whatever is not commanded must not be done so far as religious observances are concerned.

Both Warwick and the Council attempted to modify Hooper's stand, and failing this, they attempted to obtain concessions from Ridley, but also failed. Hooper now informed the Council that he had written Bucer and Martyr, but to Hooper's disappointment, they sided with Ridley in that, while the vestments may be popish, nevertheless, the ecclesiastical authorities have the right to regulate such matters. In January, 1551, Hooper was placed under house arrest, and then sent to Cranmer for discipline. At Lambeth, Martyr attempted to reason with him, but failed because the "director of the narrative" had recently counseled him, and thus, he was more obstinate than before.[1] Smyth believes this "director" to be Lasco, which is probably correct. On January 27, Hooper was committed to the Fleet, and by February 15, he was ready to be consecrated.

Utenhove informed Bullinger that only Lasco supported Hooper's position,[2] and Hooper said the same to Bullinger, that only Lasco, of all the foreigners of influence, stood with him.[3]

The controversy revolved, not primarily about vestments, but the more basic issue of whether or not Scripture was to be the final

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[1] Smyth, p. 218.

[2] O. L., pp. 585f.

[3] *Ibid*., p. 95.

authority in religious matters, and whether or not in the Scripture there can be found an exact blueprint for church life and government. It is the question of adiaphora, things unessential. Does the church have the right to regulate their usage, or must they be discarded because there is no positive command for them in Scripture? The Reformed segment of Protestantism, Zurich more so than Geneva, saw in the Scripture the divine blueprint for all religious matters, and therefore, that which was not positively commanded, was not to be left to human judgement, but was forbidden. In this aspect, Hooper and Lasco were the forefathers of the Puritans, and of some contemporary sects as well.

Seemingly, in spite of his support of Hooper, Lasco was still considered to be a man of influence and value in the realm. In the Acts of the Privy Council, meeting at Westminster, November 19, 1551, there is this entry:

> A warraunt to the Lord treasourer to delyver to Roger Ilforde the sume of fyve hundredth Frenche Crownes; that is to say, fowre hundredth to be by humn delyvered to the messinger sent to the Kinges Majestie from the Princes of Germanie, as of his Highnes rewards, and j^c to Joannes Alasco in lyke reward.[1]

I have not been able to determine just what this sum was for.

Even though the vestment controversy had been settled with Hooper's consecration, and the Strangers received the right to celebrate communion after the Reformed usage in the fall of 1551, Lasco continued to write upon the subjects of adiaphora and popish customs. Micronius wrote Bullinger that Lasco would soon publish an important work on the sacraments. (Brevis et Dilucida de Sacramentis Ecclesiae Christi tractatio, published in 1552).[1] In this work Lasco attempted to set forth the source and reasons for the current sacramental controversy. At about the same time he published the Consensio mutua in re Sacramentaria Ministrorum Tigurinae Ecclesiae, et D. Jo. Calvini, Ministri Genevensis Ecclesiae, with an introductory letter to the King, which is of interest. He argued, in this letter, that should a daughter disappear from home and become a prostitute, when her father found her, he rightly removed her from her lowly position, along with all which she had acquired, without inquiring into the origin of these things. For him to permit her to keep any items does not make the keeping right, for the honor of the daughter and entire family are at stake. His daughter must not continue to bear the "mark of the whore house upon her." So it is with the church of God. Edward must cleanse it, "lest any signs or tokens be left upon this daughter, by which she may be questioned again by these panders, or one of theirs."[2]

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[1] Acts of the Privy Council of England, II and III, p. 420.

Thus, Lasco waged a continuous campaign, asserting the correctness of his position. He wrote, he published, and he made certain that this material fell into the hands of the King, of Cranmer, and of the members of the Council.

Lasco also figured to some degree in the reformation of the ecclesiastical laws. This project was an abortive attempt to bring the statutes and canons of the English church up to date, since it had progressed far since 1532. A commission of thirty-two persons was appointed in the fall of 1551, consisting of eight bishops, eight divines, eight civil lawyers, and eight common lawyers. Hooper, Martyr, and Lasco were among the divines. Again, Bullinger was informed of the project by his disciples, Micronius, Martyr, and Utenhove,[1] who related that the commission was working hard, that things would go better if they were not opposed by the bishops of London and Ely (Ridley and Goodrich), and that if they could not agree on given points, perhaps the King would interpose his authority. Many questions surround this commission, whose work was not published until 1571. Did it ever meet; how many of them met; if it did not meet, then to which of the members should the Reformatio Legum Ecclesiarum be attributed? These will be briefly treated in the final chapter in conjunction with the consideration of Lasco's influence in England.

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[1] O. L., p. 578.

[2] Strype, Ecclesiastical Memorials . . ., III, pp. 206f.

We have already mentioned in conjunction with Chapter One that while in England Lasco wrote for the use of the Strangers' churches, the Compendium Doctrinae and the Forma ac Ratio. His Catechismus Emdanus Maior was published in 1551. One other small work came from his pen--Brevis fidei exploratio, a work of fifteen pages, written in 1550, published in 1553, which set forth the cardinal points of Christian doctrine.

Again, the time was drawing near when Lasco would be forced to find refuge elsewhere because of his convictions. On June 7, 1553, he wrote to Bullinger, "Our King has lately been in a very weak state of health; but now, thanks to our God, he is convalescent."[2] A month later

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[1] O. L., pp. 503, 580, and 589f.

[2] Smyth, p. 224.

Edward was dead. Mary arrived in London on August 3. It was soon evident that the Strangers would be forced to flee, and from a conference in Lasco's home, the decision came that they would embark for Denmark. On September 17, Lasco,and his family, embarked with nearly 170 others on two Danish ships, "The Moor," and "The Little Island Crow."

It might be mentioned here that from time to time Lasco served as a point of contact, and as a channel of information, for various heads of state who had business in the countries in which he was living. It is possible that Sigismund had given him some sort of ambassadorial status when he departed from the country in 1537. Bullinger spoke of him in 1544 as "Regis Poloniae Legatus."[1] Dalton mentions that while he was awaiting in Hamburg,in 1550, transportation to England that letters of political import from England arrived to be passed on to Duke Albert,[2] and Smithen states that Lasco went to England in 1550 as the diplomatic agent of Albert.[3] Three references in the Calendar of State Papers, Foreign Series, point to some minor political activity on his part, and support Smithen's assertion. The first, letters of credence from Albert, June 3, 1550, to Somerset, for Lasco, his Envoy. A second, letters from the Princes of Germany concerning the formation of a league against Charles, "wherein is to be considered, 'the colour and craft whereby the war shall be dissembled not to be made for religion,'" and that the terms were to be according to the treaty made with the Duke of Prussia with Mr. Alasco three years before. This was in October, 1550. The third, December 19, 1551, concerns the storm-tossed envoy of the Duke of Mecklenburg, who had been forced to return home. Rather than attempting another trip that winter, his credentials were sent via Lasco.[1] Thus, Lasco, whose two brothers were masters of the art of statecraft, had some inclination and talent in this direction also.

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[1] Krasinski, pp. 249f.

[2] Dalton, p. 349.

[3] Smithen, p. 125.

F. The Second Exile, Emden, Frankfort

The "Moor" and "Crow" were separated by storms. The "Moor" with the three leaders on it was driven to Norway where it touched two deserted ports and arrived in Elsinore, Denmark in the beginning of November. The "Crow" had fared better and had been waiting at Elsinore since mid-October. The congregation now departed for Copenhagen, expecting to be permitted to winter there, and the three leaders sought out King Christian III at Koldingen, to seek his permission for their residence. At first, his reception was warm, but Lasco and the King's chaplain, Paulus Novimagus, a Lutheran, had differences of opinion, and, after a court sermon in which Novimagus denounced Lasco and his party, Christian informed them that either they leave the country immediately or submit completely to his oversight in religious matters. They chose to leave. Christian gave them 100 Talers, allowed Lasco's two older boys and their tutor to remain, and forbade Lasco to contact the group again, though he did permit him to write a brief letter. Novimagus added insult to injury by informing them, "The King would as soon have Papists in the land as you."[1] Slade says that Christian's reform in Denmark was of the Reformed type, and that Joachim Westphal was responsible for their being driven from the land.[2] Both statements are inaccurate.

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[1] Calendar of State Papers, Foreign Series, of the Reign of Edward VI, 1547-1553, ed. W.B. Turnbull (London: Longman, Green, Longman, and Roberts, 1861).

Lasco and Utenhove set out together, moving overland toward Emden, where they arrived on December 4. Micronius returned to the group at Copenhagen, where it was decided that they should split into four smaller groups to avoid suspicion and that each group would seek shelter for the winter in predetermined towns along the shore of the Baltic Sea. Two groups traveled by sea to Rostock, a third to Wismar with Micronius, and the fourth to Lübeck. The Lutheran Rostock com~~munity~~ refused them shelter, and part turned westward again toward Wismar and joined Micronius; another part traveled on eastward and found shelter in Danzig. The authorities at Wismar informed them that they would have to move on, and those who were able went from there to Lübeck, Micronius remaining behind with the feeble. The Lübeck authorities also made the Strangers unwelcome and a part of them journeyed on to Hamburg. Lasco wrote Bullinger, March 3, 1554, that Micronius was at Wismar with a part of the church, others were at Hamburg, and Lübeck, but that they will be in Emden shortly.[3] When the winter winds

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[1] Bartels, p. 47.

[2] Slade, p. 149.

[3] Kuyper, II, pp. 697f.

began to loose their fury and the snows began to thaw, the little segments of the congregation slowly made their way toward Emden where they arrived about Easter time. They were welcomed by the Countess and allowed to have two churches--a German and a French.

Though the churches remained until the accession of Elizabeth, Lasco's residence lasted only until April of 1555. The Interim had been relaxed and peace granted to all Protestants by Charles in 1552, as the result of his near defeat by Maurice, elector of Saxony. Consequently, Frisia had become Lutheran again, and in Emden now, as pastor of the church was one, Gellius Faber. The Emden Coetus, on the whole, quite satisfied with Lasco's Catechismus Emdanus Maior, had found it to be too long and the questions on the Supper to be too Zwinglian. Accordingly, it was shortened to ninety-four questions, and Faber reconstructed the questions on the Supper along Lutheran lines. It was then printed at Bremen under Hardenberg's supervision. Lasco knew nothing of this revision until he arrived in Emden. One can understand the agitation which Lasco experienced. To have given five years of effort to Frisia, only to have it lapse into Lutheranism again, and to have his own doctrine distorted and then published in his name, was more than he could peacefully bear. He attacked Faber, and after much discussion and bitter recrimination, the two men appeared before the Coetus. The Consensus Tigurinus was finally accepted by both men as the doctrine which they would uphold. But there were further discussions between them, and Lasco finally decided to leave the city.

His decision was not based entirely upon his trouble with

Faber, for it was yet necessary to find a sanctuary for his people. He was hoping that it might be Poland, but the invitation was never forthcoming. He did receive, while at Emden, an invitation from Gustaf Vasa of Sweden, but Sweden would not offer the freedom which England had offered, and the invitation was refused. So, in the late spring of 1554, he set out for Frankfort.

During 1554-55, three churches had been established in Frankfort, a Dutch, a Walloon, and an English, on their agreement to subscribe to the Augsburg Confession. But they were without a pastor and a female fortune teller had taken charge. Lasco now became their pastor, and the Lutherans soon found grounds for making trouble. Brenzius, the local Lutheran minister attacked him. Joachim Westphal, Lutheran minister in Hamburg, called Lasco and his people, "a blasphemous troop and martyrs of the devil"[1] and Bugenhagen said that they should not even be considered Christian.[2] The ministers lodged formal charges of heresy with the state authorities. Lasco now appealed to the Frankfort Senate, offering for discussion proofs that there need be no division between himself and the Lutherans. The discussion was arranged with Brenzius and was fixed for May 22, 1556, but at the last moment, Brenzius refused to discuss with anyone who would not sign the Augsburg Confession. In the meantime, Westphal had attacked Lasco in a lengthy writing, *J. Westphali justa defensio adversus insignia mendacia Joannis a Lasco, quae in epistola ad Poloniae regem contra Saxonicas Ecclesias sparsit*, which Lasco, over the next several years, attempted to refute, point by point, in a seventy-three page document, published in 1560--*Responsio Adversus Westphalum*. He also wrote a defense of his doctrine of the Supper--*Purgatio ministrorum in Ecclesiae Peregrinorum Francofurti, adversus eorum calumnias qui ipsorum doctrinam de Christi Domini in coena sua praesentia dissensionis accusant ab Augustana Confessione*. He now appealed to the Landgrave of Hesse that he guarantee that the magistrates would not withhold protection from him, if it was needed. In September, Calvin made a visit to the city, which calmed things for a time. But his impression of the situation was, "Certain it is that Satan has so befooled them, that there is no hope of restoring union."[1]

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[1] Spiegel, p. 371.

[2] Krasinski, p. 265.

After the effect of Calvin's visit had disappeared, the magistrates decreed that the Reformed church must leave. A gathering of princes there in 1557 forestalled the expulsion, which finally took place in 1562. However, Lasco, still hoping to return to Poland[2] left Frankfort in November of 1556 and journeyed to Wittenberg to visit Melanchthon, who asked him to deliver a letter to Sigismund Augustus. Now Lasco had reason to return home! In December, he presented the letter to Augustus, who read it favorably, and who now found a place for Lasco's efforts in his homeland from whence he had been an exile for nineteen years.

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[1] Paul Henry, *The Life and Times of John Calvin* (2 vols.; New York: Robert Carter and Brothers, 1851), II, p. 338.

[2] *O. L.*, pp. 131f.

G. His Labors in Poland and Death

From 1540, Calvinism had gained an increasing foothold in Poland, growing alongside Lutheranism; and the Protestant cause, finding Sigismund I too aged to resist its advances from 1544, made considerable gains in the next four years. Sigismund Augustus, who began to reign in 1548, had been reared in the Roman church, and favored it, though he cared little for the forms of religion. He was friendly with Protestantism and tolerated it, and during his reign, Protestantism was expectant, while Roman Catholicism was apprehensive. In 1548, the Waldensian Bohemian brethren began to appear, and in spite of the fact that they insisted on a form of episcopacy, they and the Calvinists found enough in common to unite at the Synod of Kozminek in 1555, which also strengthened the Protestant position. This same year, the Diet of Piotrkow had made Protestantism legal and had temporarily ended ecclesiastical jurisdiction by the bishops. It has also proposed that a national synod, presided over by the King, and composed of all religious parties on an equal footing, be held to settle the problems confronting the nation. Not only would the Scriptures be used as the basis of settlement, but notable reformers were to be invited. This was never held, and understandably so.

The Diet of 1556 made a concession to Protestants by allowing the nobles to have services of worship in their houses. It also attempted to make Roman Catholicism more acceptable to the Polish people by asking of Paul IV that mass in the national tongue be permitted, that the Lord's Supper be served in two kinds, that priests be allowed to marry, that Annates be abolished, and that a national synod be convoked for the reforming of abuses. The Pope refused. By 1559 the Protestants were bold enough to introduce into the sittings of the Diet, a motion requiring that Roman bishops be deprived of their senatorial dignities, because they could not fulfill their oaths of office by being both servants of Rome and the state simultaneously. The motion lost, but it was significant that it was ever introduced.

Two important synods were held in 1558. That of Vlodislav was presided over by Lasco and extended to the Lutherans an invitation to consider uniting the Helvetic and Wittenberg segments of the Reformation. The Lutherans refused. The other, at Pinczow, attempted to deal with the threat of Unitarianism. Here, Lasco defended the Trinitarian position, and introduced a motion that Unitarianism be condemned. The motion failed. Protestant strength reached its height in 1569 when, of a total of 133 Diet seats, 58 were held by Protestants, only 15 by bishops, and 55 by Roman Catholic laymen. There were 600 Protestant churches, or one-sixth the total number of Roman parishes. At the end of the century, Peter Skarga complained that 2000 Roman churches had been converted into Protestant places of worship (a bit exaggerated, but indicative of Protestant inroads).

When Lasco arrived home he faced several problems: Roman opposition, royal indifference, Lutheran-Reformed animosity, and the beginnings of Unitarianism. Upon his arrival, the Roman Catholics represented him to the King as being a butcher of the church of Poland, an outlaw, heretic, expelled from every place he had been, and rumored he was collecting troops for the overthrow of the king and the establishment of Protestantism. Nonetheless, the King received him most kindly and appointed him as Superintendent of Little Poland, the area in and about Warsaw.

The first months at home are recorded for us by Utenhove, who accompanied him on his journey. Utenhove wrote Bullinger from Wladislaw, June 23, 1557, stating that they had been kindly received by the King, who only cautioned Lasco not to fan the fires of controversy, and requested that if he wished anything, to seek it in a private audience with him. Lasco had rebuked the King for denying Christ and had given him a treatise to read--*Scriptum in usum regis Polonis*. This tract urged the King to destroy idolatry and to promote true religion, as well as making the necessary preparation for the forthcoming Diet, so that Protestantism would have a chance for success. The King had replied that he presently was engaged in war, but that as soon as it was over he would begin the reformation. (The war ended in 1662, two years after Lasco's death.) But he had acknowledged Lasco as a loyal subject, made him a royal secretary, and given him permission to meet in private homes for the practice of the Protestant faith. He and Lasco, continued Utenhove, had been entertained for a month by the Palatine of Wilna, Nicholas Radziwill, Grand Marshall and Chancellor of Lithuania, and brother to Queen Barbara of Poland.[1] Nicholas had given to Lasco an annual pension and a dowery of 1000 florins for his daughter when she married. Bullinger should dedicate a book to this man, and should write the King recommending Lasco.[1]

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[1] Nicholas established at Brest a press from which he issued Protestant literature, and on which he published the Polish Protestant Scriptures in 1563, which Lasco helped to translate.

The letters of John Burcher to Bullinger also afford us insight into Lasco's activities during these years. Burcher was in Poland, either to establish a brewery or else to teach others the art, and was working in the Palatinate of Wilna, and was expecting to be licensed by Nicholas. His letters cover the period of November, 1557 to November, 1558. Lasco, he says, is in good health and has pleaded his cause with the Palatine. He is discussing with the nobles the meaning of the Lord's Supper and has converted many.[2] Again, Lasco is working hard, and the Palatine now has Reformed services in his household.[3] Again, Lasco is ailing from his chronic trouble; he wishes all the ministers at Zurich to each send letters to the King, admonishing him of his duty. The Palatine of Wilna should also be so addressed, for if they can win the nobles all will be well.[4]

When word reached Lasco that Mary Tudor was dead and that Elizabeth had succeeded her, he immediately wrote her a long admonition, evidently not understanding that Elizabeth was not the sort who was influenced by admonitions. The letter is dated September 1, 1559. It praised the policies of Edward toward the Strangers and urged that she follow his policy. However, Edward had about him certain "Potiphars" who made him do that which was amiss. The Potiphars were human reason who constrained Joseph (Christ). But now Joseph is free. Therefore, he urged Elizabeth to keep human reason, as it was embodied in governmental interference in religious matters, from again binding Joseph. He hoped she would avoid "Parliamentary theology," the effects of which were already becoming obvious.[1] (A reference, perhaps, to the Book of Common Prayer?) The letter was sent by Utenhove. Lasco was ill, and another had finished the letter at his dictation.

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[1] O. L., pp. 596ff.

[2] Ibid., p. 688.

[3] Ibid., p. 690.

[4] Ibid., pp. 701f.

Lasco never recovered from his illness. He died on Tuesday, January 8, 1560, and was entombed in the church of Pintzov. The comment of Count Orzechowski was, "Vir Dei, tibi porrigo manus."[2] Strype's information is incorrect in that he has Lasco dying in 1569 at Frankfort.[3]

The task in Poland, when Lasco returned, was task enough for ten younger men, and most of his gains were wiped out by the onslaught of the Jesuits later in the century. In addition to his work on the Polish Bible, his other main contribution was helping to lay the foundation for "Consensus Sandomiriensis," which was the basis for unity among the Bohemians, the Helvetians, and the Lutherans. The agreement was reached at the synod of Sandomir on April 15, 1570 and provided as a basis of agreement that the doctrine of the Supper would be preached in the terms of Irenaeus, who held that the sacraments consisted of two mysteries, one earthly and one heavenly--the earthly one being that the bread and wine are more than mere elements in that they are sufficient to the believer; the heavenly one being that the substantial Christ is really present and distributed in the Communion. The three groups agreed to forget their contentions and to stand together against all sects and heretics. While this did not take place during Lasco's lifetime, it can be said that his efforts in this direction were instrumental in bringing it about.

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[1] Kuyper, II, pp. 758ff.

[2] Krasinski, I, p. 283.

[3] Strype, The Life . . . of Matthew Parker, III, Chap. 25.

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Epilogue

How is greatness to be measured? If it is measured by lasting achievement and original contribution, then Lasco was not great. But if it is somehow measured by personal virtue and by a certain depth of tragedy of life, then Lasco was. If, when all the adverse forces of man and nature seem weighted against one, making impossible the achievement of one's aspirations, one can then continue to pursue them, maintaining his personal integrity, then, perhaps, he is great. The list of virtues which could be used to characterize Lasco is long. It would include such adjectives as learned, gentlemanly, committed, tolerant, and compassionate. His life, indeed, was tragic. It was tragic because he was a second generation reformer, and second generations are always called upon, never to create for themselves, but to conserve and fortify. It was tragic because Charles and Mary and Death forced him to move before he had labored long enough to leave a permanent imprint. It was tragic because the splintering and scholasticism of

Protestantism forced him into many an unsavory debate. It was tragic because his "idealistic reach" far exceeded his "finite grasp"; for he alone, of all the Protestant reformers, attempted to convert a nation, while others were content with cities or cantons. It was tragic because his king, whose loyal subject he was, did not share either his dream, his conviction, or his enthusiasm. And it was tragic because he asked for and expected much more than his generation was willing to give; only in England, for three short years, did he find what he believed to be the Apostolic structure, and even it was not without interference from "Potiphars." What he would have achieved had he been able to devote his life to the Reformation in Poland is a matter of conjecture, and for some reason, it was not meant to be.

CHAPTER III

THE CATECHISM OF THE GERMAN COMMUNITY IN LONDON

A. Introduction

In 1866, with the publication of Abraham Kuyper's Joannis A'Lasco Opera, a major contribution to Reformation scholarship was made. For this two volume work not only has assembled, for the first time, the thirty-two writings and the correspondence of Lasco, but in it Kuyper presents a scholarly examination of the various works as to their genuineness, their present location, editions through which they have passed, translations which have been made of them, etc.

The Catechism of the Strangers' Church is found in the second volume in both the Latin tongue and in the Dutch translation, which translation was done by John Utenhove in 1551. The Catechism, containing 250 questions and answers, was composed by Lasco in 1546 while he was superintendent of the Emden Churches of East Frisia. It continued in use there until 1554, when the elders, because of its length, condensed it into ninety-four questions and answers, which abridgement is known as Catechismus Emdanus Minor.

When Lasco came to England he brought the Catechism with him and almost immediately it was translated into Dutch by Utenhove (who also wrote an introduction for the Latin edition), to facilitate its use by the Dutch exiles. Said Utenhove in his introduction, "This Catechism is the same one which is used by the East Frisians, and which

I translated into dutch . . . ."[1] His translation was made at the request of the elders and ministers of the Strangers' Church so that the instruction of children might not be lacking.[2]

Utenhove's translation had three editions. The first was published in 1551 in London by Stephen Mirdman; the second in 1553, also in London, by Nicolas van den Berghe; and the third in 1558 in Emden by Gellium Ctematium.

As for the Latin text, we are at a loss. Kuyper says, "Five letters of A'Lasco became known to us in the dutch tongue . . .,"[3] and one of these was the Catechism. He then says, "The Catechism of that same Church I myself translated into the latin. . . ."[4] Later in his Preface, when dealing exclusively with the problems of the Catechism, he states, "The original text of this Catechism . . . seems to have disappeared,"[5] and, "In our text . . . you will find the most ancient edition of this version, which was produced in London in 1551, along with the Latin reproduction . . . to which we ourselves have attended."[6] Thus, the Latin text in Kuyper's collection is his own, having been made probably from Utenhove's Dutch edition.

Kuyper assures us, though, that Utenhove made his Dutch translation "paucissimis mutatis,"[7] and that we therefore can be certain that we have the genuine material of Lasco. But it must be asked, "How do we know Utenhove made only a very few changes?" He in his introduction says, "In it [his translation] I used the vernacular speech (alas so basely distorted with abuse) frequently not without license, . . . so that I might restore it to the primitive form as best I could, so that the Church might better understand it."[1] This could indicate certain liberties with the text, the nature and seriousness of which we cannot be sure. But, Catechismus Emdanus Minor is extant, and in its Preface the Emden elders make it clear that this is but an abridgement of Lasco's longer Catechism. Thus, some basis for comparison exists. Kuyper demonstrates that all but thirteen of its ninety-four questions can be directly traced to the 1551 edition of Utenhove. This, indeed, indicates not only a common source, but a rather faithful adherence to that source by both parties. Kuyper's reproduction can be accepted as essentially Lasco's work.

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[1] Kuyper, II, p. 246.

[2] Ibid. [3] Ibid., I, p. xxx. [4] Ibid., p. xxi.

[5] Ibid., p. lxxxvi. [6] Ibid. [7] Ibid., p. lxxi.

The Dutch text of 1551 was secured by Kuyper from Wiarda, Superintendent of the Emden Church, which edition, he says, can be found also in the Emden library. The British Museum also possesses a copy of this which compares faithfully with Kuyper's text, and which, oddly enough, bears the signature of Wiarda on the title page. The 1553 edition is also in the Emden library, and the 1558 edition is to be found in the Remonstrants' Library in Amsterdam.

In Kuyper's collection the Dutch text contains the scriptural references of the 1551 edition, and the Latin text contains those of the 1553 edition. In this presentation the following scheme is used: the references appearing only in the 1551 edition are in parentheses; those appearing in both editions are underlined; those appearing only in the 1553 edition are given normally.

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[1] Ibid., II, p. 346. Infra, p. 137.

The structure of the Catechism follows the usual structure of the Reformed Catechisms with sections on the Decalogue, the Apostles' Creed, the Lord's Prayer, and the Sacraments.

The Catechism

used for teaching the Children of the
German community which is in London.[1]

Psalm 119

How can a young man keep his way pure?
By guarding it according to thy word.

Printed at London by Stephan Mirdman,
in the year 1551.

[[1] Capitalization throughout follows as closely as possible the Latin text.]

John Utenhove to the Church of Germans, which is at London, grace and peace from God the Father, through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

The sound condition of the state, which is pleasing and acceptable to God, beloved Brothers, is especially preserved, in my opinion, by three conditions: namely, by the piety of the magistrate, the soundness of the Teachers, or the ministers of the Divine word, and by the nourishing of Christian schools. Without these, no state can enjoy favorable circumstances, just as, where these three conditions exist together, the state cannot be reversed, but flourishes. But in respect to the first of these, it is sufficiently evident, that the magistrate is to be to the state as the stomach is to the human body. For just as the entire body is nourished by the stomach and cannot exist without it, so the state cannot long remain without a magistrate, because of the great wretchedness, perversity, and depravity of the human nature and disposition, which, therefore, must be checked by the external and political government of the king. But just as it is not enough to maintain the body in a healthy condition by providing it with a stomach, unless that stomach be whole and healthy, so it is not enough for the state to have a magistrate, unless he is wise, zealous, and pious. But if he is less, then it is indeed intolerable to live under him, and must be considered as the very real punishment of God for the sins of the people to have been placed under this impious one.[1] But on the other hand, it must be agreed upon as the ineffable benefit of God within the state, when wise and pious magistrates have been established by the Lord, for a wise magistrate is the power and strength of the people.[1] Second, as for sound teachers or ministers of the word, it is easy to deduce that they are necessary to the state from the very necessity of the Word, because it alone is light, life, and food for the spirit, apart from which nothing but darkness, death, and eternal ruin are to be expected.[2] Neither can the state be sound, that fortune may smile upon the people, where true doctrine is absent, for, as a Wise man has already said, "Where I seek in vain for prophets or a divine institution, there the result must be the destruction of the people."[3] For this reason, the people, without a teacher from the Lord-Christ himself, are to be justly compared with a flock of sheep, which, forsaken by every shepherd, have undoubtedly been exposed to a lack of good pasture and streams, and to all wolves, beasts, and dangers.[4] Thus, the Lord has regarded as necessary, the ministry of his word in his Church,[5] and has established it as the only means by which the people might be gathered and sustained in all goodness and piety. Third, so long as we observe the gross ignorance of our profane nature and the perversity which was born in us from our mother's womb,[6] it is easily understood, how great is the need of children for Christian instruction, so that, having been educated in the holy will and ways of the Lord, and having been reared from childhood on, in the knowledge and fear of him,[1] they would be apt in all pious activities, and as their duty, would promote reverence toward God in every act of service to their neighbors, as well as the health of the state. Hence, the Lord gravely commanded that children everywhere be diligently taught his divine commandments,[2] that by a consideration of all the great and unspeakable benefits of God, which have been imparted to us in Christ, and having been moved to the praise and thankfulness and adulation of his name, they might cultivate a sound faith in him, and a sure hope in virtue and righteousness.

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[1] (Job 34).

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[1] Wisdom of Solomon 6. [2] Jn. 16; Psm. 119. [3] Prov. 29.

[4] Matt. 9.

[5] Lk. 23; Rev. 9 [Lk. 23 and Rev. 9 contain nothing which pertains to the subject at hand, and are probably errors. Lk. 24:46-48, listed by the Dutch translation at this point, and Rev. 10:11 are apropos.]; (Matt. 28; Lk. 24; Acts 9).

[6] Gen. 6, 8.

Paul committed this same teaching to parents, saying, "You fathers, do not provoke your children to ire, but educate them in the teaching and reproach of the Lord."[3] This is the only method for constantly procuring sound, Christian householders and masters, whom, on the other hand, you will seek in vain, where this instruction of children is absent,[4] as several examples in Scripture and in secular History attest to us through experience. So, no doubt can exist in this, that these three very great benefits, which we desire for the welfare of the state, must be regarded as necessary.

But now, regarding the first condition, God, in this kingdom, most liberally placed us under a pious magistrate, namely King Edward the Sixth, who, from his youth hence, having expelled all idolatry and false religion from his kingdom, restored the true Apostolic faith, doctrine and just worship of God, just as did Josiah.[1] It must rightly be said by us, that no king existed before him, not only in this kingdom but in the entire Christian world, who, just as he, with his entire spirit and heart toward God, aligned himself with his word. By this, the hope must be born (unless the Lord should require the punishment of our ingratitude) that God, in the future, both here and everywhere, will advance all piety through him in due time. All this is clearly evident from the great benefit which was presented here to our German race, indeed to all strangers, through the petitioning of my Lord, John a'Lasco, the superintendent of us all, with respect to the procuring for the strangers the outfitted temple (with great expense to them),[2] to the permitting of the complete worship of God according to the commands of Christ the Lord and the practices of the Apostles, and to the appointing for us sound teachers and ministers through whom the true doctrine of the Prophets and Apostles is purely proclaimed to us without any human distortion. This has been done to such a degree that in these two men the Lord has greatly enriched us; therefore, praise be to him for eternity.

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[1] Deut. 32. [2] Ex. 12, 13; Deut. 4, 6; (I Macabees 2). [3] (Eph. 6).

[4] I Sam. 2, 4; Deut. 21.

Now that the third condition, the instruction of children, may not be lacking in our Church, it has been deemed both good and necessary by the ministers and the elders, (for it is actually a necessity) that the Catechism, or the instruction of children, should be offered by the Church. This Catechism is the same one which is used by the East Frisians, and which I translated into dutch at their request. In it I used the vernacular speech (alas, so basely distorted with abuse), frequently not without license, just as I did in the Confession, so that I might restore it to the primitive form as best I could, so that the Church, which has been gathered here from diverse nations, might better understand ~~it~~.

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[1] II Kings 22; (II Kings 23).

[[2] The Jesus Temple, or Church of the Austin Friars, was outfitted at state expense when the Dutch were given permission to share it with the French.]

Indeed, it is truly our duty to give thanks to the Lord for these great gifts, which our fathers never, at any time, experienced. Among the Princes, which they had in their time, there were several who obviously assented, to be sure, because they were good, just, and wise in political matters; but from none of them do we select one who held the healing knowledge of God, and who advanced the true worship of God according to his word. Therefore, this benefit of ours, which we have procured from the stranger Prince, and which our german Princes refused us, must be valued so much the more.

Thus, I do not suppose our Dutch people ever previously to have had a Church in which the word of God is as purely proclaimed, the Sacraments as correctly administered, and the Christian discipline as faithfully and diligently observed, as in our Church. In our church, in addition to the aid for the destitute, which has been committed to the ministry of Deacons, during each week, the collations of scripture, or Prophecyings about which Paul spoke, are also held. Then, all the sermons preached on the previous seventh day are thoroughly examined. The Presbyters, together with those chosen by the Church for the task, expound on those same sermons according to the Scripture, or compare them, which things shall certainly result in an intelligent explanation of the treated text, and thus, a greater edification of the Church. Then, the doubts of anyone are dispelled and refuted by ministers, who prove their doctrine from the word of God alone. This, without a doubt, is the only method of strengthening the true doctrine of the Apostles and the conscience of the Church.[1] If the Roman Church had always practiced this, Satan would never have entered or overcome it. Besides, in this same temple, they have two latin readings also during each week, the one in the new Testament by the preaching of Doctor John a'Lasco, the other in the old Testament by Walter Deloene, and in like manner, a collation is made of those readings of Scripture for a large part of the teachers and for the edification of the Church.

But finally, until now, so far as I know, no pure Catechism existed in our Dutch tongue, which was exceedingly grievous. For without a compendium or summation of the true faith no layman can be well instructed or established in the articles of his faith, particularly where sound sermons from the pure word of God cannot be had. For which reason it also happened in our country, as in other countries, that so many heresies and errors existed and prevailed,

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[[1] The holding of "prophesyings" practiced by Elizabethan Puritans resembles the practices mentioned here, an indication that Puritanism has its roots in the Edwardian rather than in the Elizabethan era.]

the prevalence of which nevertheless befell the magistrate and ministers of our Country through the righteous judgement of God, for, by having rejected the truth, they opened the door to all lies and heresies, that the people accepted and embraced them in faith. When, therefore, those miserable men, who had fallen into error (having had embraced those lies) had withdrawn from the Roman Church because of a hatred of the papal religion, which they understood, from the illumination of the Word, to be idolatry, it was undoubtedly necessary to declare to them the complete and true religion by voice or writings, so that they would follow the established norm of faith in its abridgement. But they withdrew in vain, for Satan, the old waylayer of men, sowed his tares among them with every kind of false Prophet, that they would receive it under the appearance of truth, which has happened. So now, indeed, with the hatred of the papal religion having been aroused by him, they have arrived here, that they may reject the remaining good, along with the evil, which yet remains in the Roman Church. For it is plain to see that they, rejecting the double nature in Christ, his death and resurrection and other such things,[1] have appointed of and for themselves, teachers, who, having been insufficiently educated in the will of the Lord, nor indeed rightly inspired by the Spirit of God, but having been proudly exalted, have depreciated all knowledge and acquaintance of tongues, even every

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[[1] This reference is undoubtedly to the more radical Anabaptist sects which plagued the Netherlands. Some Anabaptists were humanists and thus saw in Christ merely the great example.]

genuine interpretation of the Scripture, which thing Paul valued exceedingly as being necessary to the Church as a gift of the Holy Spirit.[1]

Therefore, since, as in the statement above, God did so splendidly bless us, it may be a sign of His great mercy toward us, which is greater than it ever was in any other part of the world. Why do we now doubt? Undoubtedly, the day of the appearance of the Lord is at hand, which our German people, who are in London, perceive. If we despise it and do not observe it, the Lord shall say of us as he said formerly of Judah, "Children, I reared and exalted, but they spurned me,"[2] and the kingdom of God will be taken from us and given to people who produce the fruits of repentance, and it will be better for the inhabitants of Sodom and Gomorrah in the day of judgement than for us.[3] If his visitation is accepted by us, and we turn our entire selves toward God, giving thanks to him for all his benefits and attesting to our faith in every duty, our affairs will be favorable for us in all our ways, through the blessing of God, who will assist us by his Spirit, now and in eternity. Meanwhile, here, in many places, we shall have vexation, not only from Papists and Hypocrites and impious men, but from others, who, having been defiled with every heresy, are able to allude also to the Scripture for the establishing of their error (in the same way in which Satan, their teacher, formerly quoted it to the Lord Christ).[4] But they restrict and confuse it to such a degree that their interpretation in no way can remain standing with the sacred Scripture itself, which ought, of necessity, to agree with itself in all its parts, because of the Holy Spirit who is always agreeable and uncomplicated in all things, and does not differ with itself throughout the Prophetic and Apostolic writings.[1] So strongly, however, have those men, who have been witnessing, conspired against the truth, that they would rather embrace any of the other heresies than the true Apostolic doctrine, as experience has taught us more than enough. But heresies are checked, when, having been examined, they are exposed.

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[1] I Cor. 12. [2] Isa. 1; Matt. 21. [3] Matt. 10. [4] Matt. 4.

Indeed, our consolation will be in this, that Christ has been appointed for the downfall of many here, and as the stone by which all men must be offended. Therefore, we shall appeal to this, in these and all our misfortunes, however so many we may come upon, having known well that no one can snatch away from his hand those who are his. May the Lord God impart this to us, that everyone, however so many, who is led into error through ignorance, may be brought back to the better life, that, harmoniously united and joined in the one faith, we may be able to worship and praise him in holiness and righteousness throughout the entire interval of our lives. Amen.

However, you, most beloved Brothers, be committed in eternity to Christ the Lord, the reconciler of all of us, accepting with a grateful spirit this very small work of ours.

From London, 15th day of May, in the year of our Lord, 1551.

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[1] Jn. 15.

THE CATECHISM

Question 1. Why did God create man and provide him with such great qualities of intellect in comparison with all other creatures?[1]

Response. In order that he might well know his God and creator, and learn to love, fear, praise and honor him, and thus become a participant in all his goodness.[2]

Q. 2. We are not able, through our mind and innate strength, to know who God is, are we?

R. Indeed, God is revealed to all men in the existence of created things, to such an extent that no one is able to offer any excuse; however, we are not able to have a saving knowledge of God from our natural disposition, which the Lord our God must grant to us by his spirit.[3]

Q. 3. Where may one hear that incorruptible doctrine of God?

R. In the Sacred Book of Scripture, (that is, in the Old and New Testaments) in which the inviolate truth is clearly and lucidly reported to us, and not at all deceitfully, having been received from the mouth of God. How greatly it provides for our salvation![4]

Q. 4. Does the Scripture teach us enough of God?

R. Yes, indeed, and moreover everything which is necessary for us to know for obtaining perfect salvation and eternal life, to such a degree that no other teaching is required for confirming that to us.[1]

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[1] Gen. 1, 3; Ecclesiasticus 15, 17; Eph. 4; Psm. 8.

[2] Eph. 1; I Tim. 2. [3] Rom. 1; Psm. 19; Matt. 11, 16; I Cor. 2.

[4] II Tim. 3; Psm. 19; II Peter 1; Luke 16; Rom. 15.

Q. 5. What does the Scripture teach of God, that we may rightly know him?

R. It teaches that he is the one and eternal God, three persons, Father, Son, and Holy Spirit, incomprehensible in his essence to the eyes and understanding of all men, also the invisible spirit, the sole supreme and all sufficient good, and in his nature incomprehensible splendor and wisdom, unchangeable justice and unutterable mercy.[2]

Q. 6. From what source do you know God to be one?

R. Because God says in the Scripture with distinct words, "I, God, am not as any other is," and thus, here and there in many, many passages the scripture bears witness to God.[3]

Q. 7. How, then, do you show from Scripture that there are three distinct persons in the one divine essence?

R. From many passages, but the most lucid of all is from the baptism of our Lord Jesus Christ, in which those three distinct persons are clearly spoken of.[4]

Q. 8. How do you show that each one of these persons is God in one divine essence?

R. In this way. For while the Holy Scripture shows very certain evidence for the unity of God, yet to each one of these persons it grants equal power and honor within the divine essence, just as in the baptism of all Christians these three persons are invoked and recognized.[1]

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[1] Gal. 1; Acts 20; II Tim. 3; II Cor. 6, 10.

[2] Deut. 2, 6; Matt. 3, 28; I Jn. 5; I Cor. 2, 13; Ex. 33; Jn. 4; Gen. 18; Deut. 4; Ex. 34.

[3] Isa. 45, 44; Deut. 6; Mark 12; I Tim. 2; Psm. 5.

[4] Matt. 3; Lk. 3.

Q. 9. In what additional way do we know the magnificence, the wisdom, and infinite power of God?

R. These are available to us in the creation, the sustenance, and government of the entire world and of all creatures.[2]

Q. 10. From whence do we infer his unchangeable justice?

R. From the reward of obedience and the punishment of sins, both of which the Lord God has unchangeably fixed in eternity.[3]

Q. 11. In what way does his unutterable mercy shine forth?

R. In this, that God, by his own initiative, through his grace and mercy to the human race after the fall, promised to us, who neither knew nor cared, in fact we ourselves were even enemies, his only son, Jesus Christ, as savior, and delivered him at the proper time.[4]

Q. 12. This confession about God is not adequate, is it?

R. This is not satisfactory, simply to confess that God exists, but it is also part of our duty to choose God as our God, to return thanks to him, to praise, fear, honor, imitate, and adore him.[5]

Q. 13. How ought I to understand this?

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[1] Jn. 10; Rom. 9; I Cor. 12; Matt. 28.

[2] Jer. 10; Rom. 1; Acts 17. [3] Deut. 27, 28; Lev. 26; Ex. 20, 34.

[4] Eph. 1; I Jn. 4; Rom. 5, 8; I Tim. 1; Gen. 3.

[5] Matt. 7; Lk. 8; Jas. 2; Deut. 6.

R. All our desires, thoughts, words, and deeds, whatever we do or refrain from doing, body and soul and whatever may be entirely ours, are to be used for the praise of his divine name and employed in every way in true obedience to his will.[1]

Q. 14. How, then, may we best know his will, that we may follow it and not wander from the correct way in the worship of God?

R. From his law, which has been written as the model and the absolute teaching of the divine will, in which the Lord, with clear and distinct words, instructed us in all the things, which should be done or refrained from.[2]

Q. 15. What is that law of which you make mention?

R. You are bequeathed the ten commandments of the Lord, which were cut into two tablets of stone on mount Sinai for Moses; the first of which consists of righteousness toward God and the true and proper worship of God, external as well as internal, four commandments having been included; the second, righteousness and true religion toward our neighbor, six commandments having been included.[3]

Q. 16. What are the commandments on the first table?

R. I am the Lord your God who led you out of the land of Egypt, from the house of slavery. You shall have no strange Gods in my presence or along with me.

You must not make for yourselves an image, nor any likeness of any of the things which are in the heavens above, or on the earth beneath the heaven, or in the waters under the earth. Neither must you beseech, honor or reverence it, for I, the Lord your God, am powerful, impatient with insult, visiting the sins of the fathers on the sons even to the third and fourth generations of them who have hated me, and showing mercy to many thousands who love me and observe my commandments.

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[1] I Cor. 16; Col. 8; Psm. 10; Mark 10.

[2] Rom. 7; Psm. 91; Isa. 8, 6, 53; II Tim. 3; Deut. 4.

[3] Ex. 21; Deut. 5; Ex. 24, 31, 32, 34; Deut. 9.

You must not heedlessly or carelessly use the name of the Lord your God, for he will by no means hold him guiltless nor let him go without punishment, who has heedlessly or lightly used his name.

You must remember to sanctify the sabbath day. Six days you shall work and accomplish all your labor; on the seventh day, however, is the sabbath of the Lord your God. Then you shall do no work, neither you, your son, your daughter, your male slave, your female slave, your beast of burden, nor the stranger who is within the gate of your city. For in six days the Lord formed the heaven and the earth, the sea, and all that is in it, and on the seventh day he rested. Therefore, the Lord blessed the seventh day and sanctified it.

Q. 17. What are the commandments on the second table?

R. Those six, which follow:

You shall honor your father and mother, that you may live long in the land, and that your affairs may succeed in the land, which the Lord will give you.

You shall not kill.

You shall not be an adulterer.

You shall not steal.

You shall not bear witness falsely against your neighbor. You must not covet your neighbor's house, nor his wife, nor his male servant, nor his female servant, nor his ox, nor his ass; in short, anything which is your neighbor's.

Q. 18. What do you observe about the first commandment?

R. This one is to be the leading principle and basis of all the remaining commandments and of all religious practise, by which the Lord imposes on us the two things which it certainly behooves us to diligently observe.

Q. 19. What do you say should be observed first?

R. God must be acknowledged by us to be our God, and to be the kind of Lord and God who is willing and able to liberate us completely from all evil (if only we heed him) and to bless us richly with every goodness, just as it was once shown in the liberation of the children of Israel from the hands of Pharaoh, which was also a figure of liberation from the force and power of the Devil which Christ the Lord has provided for us all. As many as believe in Christ the Lord are true children of Abraham and Israel.[1]

Q. 20. What is that second thing which God commands us to particularly observe in this commandment?

R. Since the Lord God is a God of such power and goodness, we should thenceforth remember that he is the only God. Nowhere, indeed, is there another God like this, the creator and savior of body and soul, by whom all good can come to us, and through whom all evil can be kept from us. Therefore, this prohibits us from having any other, much less strange, Gods either in his presence or in addition to him.[1]

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[1] Ex. 15; Deut. 27, 28; Ex. 13, 14; Psm. 78, 80; I Cor. 5; Isa. 25; Col. 2; Rom. 4, 9; Gal. 3, 4; (Col. 1).

5 Q. 21. How is that first commandment to be observed?

R. When we inwardly know, worship, love, fear, and honor this one living God, adoring him alone, confiding in him, giving thanks, and with all our strength and ability, completely reserving for him, alone, our whole heart.[2]

Q. 22. How is this first commandment transgressed?

R. In various ways: to the greatest degree if we despise this one God and our Lord, turning our hearts away from him, clinging to other creatures, requesting divine aid or consolation from them; and further, ascribing to some other thing the rightful and unique honor of the one God.[3]

Q. 23. Recite to me the second commandment.

R. You must not make for yourself any image or likeness of any of the things in the heavens above or on the earth beneath the heavens or in the waters under the earth. Neither must you beseech, honor, or reverence it, for I the Lord am your God.

Q. 24. How is that commandment to be observed?

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[1] Deut. 6; Josh. 3; I Cor. 8; Isa. 43, 44; Jer. 3.

[2] Deut. 45; Jer. 9; Matt. 4; Lk. 10; Matt. 22.

[3] Isa. 1; Num. 15; Deut. 9; Zeph. 1; Zach. 7; Isa. 45.

R. Since we have residing within our hearts the great majesty of the spirit of God, we should neither make nor erect any image, to which, inwardly or outwardly, we assign honor or reverence as something divine, or with which we compare the eternal, invisible, and incomprehensible essence of God. Indeed, we worship God alone, according to his word in spirit and in truth.[1]

Q. 25. How is that commandment violated?

R. When we make some idol, in which we seek God and his effective aid, when we reverence and worship or bend the knee, or light candles, or render some other honor to it. Likewise, when we devise and establish from our own piety or opinion some other religion in addition to the word of God, from which are masses, vigils, masses for the dead, indulgences, and such other things by which they imagine they revere God above and beyond his command, appearing to be quite sacred.[2]

Q. 26. What! Is not whatever we do in his honor acceptable to God, since we were moved to it by good intentions and true piety?

R. Not at all! God forbids, as if it were an idol, all religion which was neither established nor commanded by his own word. He further wills that we zealously shun and flee from it.[3]

Q. 27. Why?

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[1] Jn. 4; Deut. 27; Isa. 44; Psm. 115; Jer. 10; Lev. 19; Ezek. 33, Isa. 44; Ex. 25; Deut. 4, 12; I Sam. 15; Jn. 4.

[2] Ex. 32; Isa. 44; I Kings 19; Rom. 11; Baruch 6; Dan. 3; Deut. 12; Col. 2; Matt. 15; Lk. 16.

[3] Deut. 12; Jer. 7; Matt. 15; Lk. 12; Isa. 29.

R. It is, in fact, a divine law that we worship and revere his great Majesty according to his will and word and not according to our will and good pleasure, for apart from the word of God our will is entirely blind and can offer nothing but evil. Indeed, neither wisdom nor ability can teach us of God, and of that which pertains to his true worship. Thus, it is not acceptable to God, since he forbids anyone to offer it in his honor.[1]

Q. 28. I wish also to know this from you; why has God forbidden the worship of idols?

R. Since, according to his essence, he is eternal, immortal, incomprehensible, and invisible, he wishes that we continue with his word alone, heeding it above all else, and in every situation and at all times greatly stressing it, so that images will neither lead us to a forgetfulness of his name, nor become a hindrance to us in our worship of him.[2]

Q. 29. I do not understand in what way statues would hinder you.

R. There is absolutely nothing which leads us more completely from the honor and right knowledge of God than idol worship. When men contemplate idols or believe in them in their minds, a perverse opinion comes over them which is contrary to a right and true knowledge of God. Wherefore, the Scriptures call them tempters and snares to the mind, and the idols which they worship, idolatry and the work of the

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[1] I Cor. 3; Gen. 6; Jn. 1, 9; Deut. 4.

[2] Deut. 5; Ex. 3, 4; Deut. 4, 6; Isa. 8; Psm. 1, 19, 119; Rom. 1.

the flesh. For he, who erects idols that he may worship them, testifies from himself, to have called forth from his heart the living God, and to be an idolator in his breast.[1]

Q. 30. Then, it is not permissible to make an idol, is it?

R. By no means, with the intention of worshipping them either in memory of God or of the Saints. God holds all idols in hatred, which, having been prepared for idolatrous worship, are placed on columns, pillars, or altars, and which, having been thus readied, have been denoted to this use. It is not even lawful to retain them, unless we wish to be punished by God.[2]

Q. 31. How does God punish those sins?

R. Externally, with bodily punishments; internally, with the punishments of the mind, which he blinds. For he who makes and worships statues, not only will not quite cleverly escape from these, but will become mute, hard of hearing, blind, and similar to the statues themselves. If man desires to have some representation of God, why does he not consider the heaven, the earth, and whatever is in them, which are the living likenesses by which God commends to us and places before our eyes his eternal Divinity, as well as his splendor, power, and wisdom. Why not, indeed, why does he not look at man alone, whom God created for that reason, that through his character and nature, the visible and living image of God would be on earth, for God's essence cannot be represented by any image.[1]

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[1] Jer. 10; Macabees 2; Rom. 1; I Cor. 12; Deut. 32; Psm. 96, 10; I Cor. 10; Rev. 9; Wisdom of Solomon 14; Gal. 6.

[2] Ex. 20; Deut. 27; Lev. 19; Deut. 16; I Jn. 5; Deut. 7; Num. 33; Judges 6; Zach. 13.

Q. 32. What is the third commandment?

R. You must not use the name of the Lord your God heedlessly, lightly, carelessly, or indecently. For he will not hold him guiltless, nor let go without punishment, he who has heedlessly, carelessly, vainly, or lightly used his name.

Q. 33. How is this commandment to be observed?

R. When we acknowledge and highly esteem the holy and glorious name of God, praying in all our needs according to his will and always giving thanks to him for all favors; when we, in all words and actions and with all uprightness, ardor, and reverence, declare, confess, praise, and revere his wisdom, power, justice, goodness, and all else that is to be understood by the name of God.[2]

Q. 34. How is that commandment violated?

R. Whenever we abuse the holy name of God in certain false religion and idolatry, such as employing the word of God in Matins, Vespers, Exorcism or in anything by which they abuse the name of God contrary to his command. Likewise, in thoughtlessly permitting perjury or oath taking, cursing, lying, or deceit; also in divination, incantation, deception, and the diabolical arts. Also when we beseech God contrary to his holy will which has been revealed to us in his word, just as those do who do not pray exclusively through the name of Christ, but through a particular prayer dedicated to the saints. Also they, who request anything in the name of Christ (so they think) but contrary to and against his will, and according to their own fantasy and whim. Further, when we heedlessly abuse his name in anything, or make known or repress anything, anywhere, by which his majesty is not honored, but can be despised and scandalized.[1]

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[1] Ex. 33; Isa. 44; Ezek. 14; Hos. 8; Jer. 3, 5; Rom. 1; Wisdom of Solomon 14; Psm. 113; Rom. 1; Psm. 19; Gen. 2, 5; Eph. 4.

[2] Lk. 1; Ex. 5; Psm. 50; I Jn. 5; Psm. 144; Psm. 145, 146, 147, 148; Deut. 10; (Psm. 49, 33).

Q. 35. Here, I must ask yet one thing, "Is it permissible to conscientiously swear by the name of God?"

R. Usually, when the magistrate, by God's appointment, requires it of us, or when, in divine things we are bound to it by reason of our calling, that in this way the truth may be affirmed and advanced, for the glory of God and the complete salvation of our neighbor. In this way the reverence of the divine name and the true worship of God has been performed; to otherwise give an oath is absolutely forbidden for us.[2]

Q. 36. What is the fourth commandment?

R. You shall remember the sabbath day, that you may sanctify it. Six days shall you work and accomplish all your labor. The seventh day, however, is the Sabbath of the Lord your God, etc.

Q. 37. How is this commandment observed?

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[1] Matt. 15; Lev. 24; Matt. 5; Lev. 19; Isa. 48; Jas. 4; Matt. 12; Ex. 20; Eph. 4; Rom. 1.

[2] Gen. 21, 25; Jer. 4, 12; Isa. 45; Ex. 22; Heb. 6; Deut. 6, 10; Isa. 55; Matt. 5; Jas. 5.

R. It is observed and violated in a double way, just as there is a double kind of sabbath, or day of rest; namely, the internal and external.

Q. 38. How is the former, or internal sabbath observed?

R. When we refrain from our carnal works, dying daily to them, thinking always of the kingdom of God, allowing God to work in us, honoring him and giving thanks with a peaceful conscience in all things, whether favorable or adverse.[1]

Q. 39. How is the commandment of that latter, or inner, sabbath violated?

R. When we do our carnal works, are not governed everywhere by the word of God, and impatiently bear all torment and adversity.

Q. 40. When is the observance of the inner sabbath completed in us?

R. In the resurrection of the dead, when Christ the Lord, appearing in his glory, will create a new heaven and a new earth according to the promise of Scripture, when there will be an eternal, happy sabbath from all deadly works, and when God will be all in all.[2]

Q. 41. How is the external sabbath observed?

R. When the Church of God is honored in its office and ministry (which was established and appointed at the command of Christ).[3]

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[1] Isa. 56, 58, 66; Rom. 13; Col. 3; Rom. 14.

[2] I Cor. 15; I Thess. 13; Mark 14; Isa. 65; II Peter 8; Rev. 21; Isa. 66; Heb. 3, 4; I Cor. 15; Eph. 1.

[3] I Cor. 6.

Q. 42. How may this be?

R. When we are diligent, not allowing ourselves to be ensnared by an insignificant excuse, from hearing and learning with longing hearts, the word of God in the company of the faithful; when we rightly administer and receive the sacraments so that by these various practises the knowledge of God is increased, his benefits pondered, the name of God honored, and a definite trust in the Church evoked; and further, when the entire day is spent in service to our neighbor and in all other sacred works; when all the ministers, who have been employed for the offices of the Christian Church, are supported, of which there are preachers, presbyters, deacons, and scholars, according to the plan of God which has been established for the advantage of the Church.[1]

Q. 43. Is this enough?

R. Not at all. Every household is to be urged to do this, and the time and place indicated, at which we may use all these practises with the Church, that the entire body of Jesus Christ may be edified.[2]

Q. 44. How is the external sabbath violated?

R. When the ministers of doctrine, of the Sacraments, and of the remaining Christian practises enjoined by God, desert their office, commit adultery, or for some other reason falsely conduct themselves contrary to the command of God. Also when anyone spurns the assemblage, doctrine, Sacraments, and remaining practises of the Christian Church, or the Church itself; or, with words and acts of a different sort, becomes contemptuous and thus attacks these things.[1]

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[1] I Cor. 6; I Cor. 9; Gal. 6; I Tim. 5. [2] Ex. 20; Eph. 4.

Q. 45. Cannot the sabbath be violated in some other way also?

R. Certainly. When we intentionally disquiet the day, which has been appointed for the office and ministry of the Church, with common labors, indolence, heedlessness, drunkenness, throwing dice, sports, and other fleshly works.

Q. 46. The Lord says, "Six days you shall work and accomplish all your labor. . . ." What then are the works which we should do on these six days?

R. These: everyone will attend to his vocation, as to whether it is agreeable with the word of God; and then, that he undertake ably and diligently all the duties of his vocation as if in the presence of God, that he may usefully perform and undertake this temporary life for the glory of God, by supporting and serving his neighbor.[2]

Q. 47. What is the fifth commandment?

R. You shall honor your father and mother that you may live long in the land, and that your affairs may succeed in the land which the Lord your God will give you.

Q. 48. How is that commandment observed?

R. When we hold the father and mother, above all other men in the land, in the highest and most worthy place in our hearts, according to God's command; when we love them, attend them with all grace, reverence, obedience, service, and respect; and especially when we help them in unfavorable things such as old age and sickness, and assist them to the utmost of our resources, as often as they require.[1]

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[1] Isa. 58; Jer. 23; I Cor. 11; Heb. 10.

[2] Eph. 4; Psm. 128; I Tim. 5; Eph. 5.

Q. 49. Tell me why; for what reason?

R. Because it is honorable that after they have begotten us in sorrow, supported, and reared us with great labor, we will also honor them and relieve their poverty, old age, and misfortune by service and sympathy.[2]

Q. 50. How is that commandment violated?

R. When from a spirit of pride toward God we despise father and mother, when we are disobedient or ungrateful to them, and as has been said above do not humbly respect, support, and reverence them in all things.[3]

Q. 51. What do you understand to be implied in the name father and mother?

R. All whom the Lord has placed over us; the first of such are our parents, then those who govern in place of our parents and are as blood relatives, such as tutors, school masters, the magistrates, the ministers of the Church, and finally our master and mistress, indeed, all men from whom we receive some benefit, who teach us in our leisure, are ready with advice for us, who exhort us, chasten us, and aid us in our poverty, and finally, those who guard us from harm; to all of these we owe respect, obedience, and service according to the arrangement and command of God.[1]

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[1] Lev. 19; Eph. 6; Prov. 23; Ecclesiasticus 3; Matt. 15.

[2] Eph. 6; Ecclesiasticus 7.

[3] Deut. 21; II Sam. 15, 16, 17, 18.

Q. 52. What does that additional promise of a long and prosperous life signify in this commandment?

R. That it is possible, under good, Christian guidance and assistance, for those to live a long time with honor and good health, and to have a respectful and happy old age, who, from boyhood on, will have accustomed themselves to behave modestly, usefully, humbly, and obediently to everyone. As the opposite is also seen in obstinateness, for whoever are misled in their lives die before their time, according to the common proverb, "He who refuses to listen to his father, listens to his executioner."[2]

Q. 53. Shall we obey father and mother and others who are implied in that title, in all the things which they enjoin?

R. Not at all. For if they impose on us anything contrary to the word and will of God, it is not included in the commandment concerning obedience to parents.[3]

Q. 54. What do you mean?

R. According to the example of the Apostles we should obey God rather than men, even though they are afflicted with great sorrow because of our disobedience. God is the supreme Father and Lord of all, to whom all flesh has been subjected, who has greatly praised all fathers and husbands above the remainder of humanity and shares his name with them for this purpose, that they, being named after God, may extend true obedience and reverence to him, rather than hinder it. Because of this, then, such obedience against God is not commanded but forbidden.[1]

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[1] Ex. 20; I Peter 2; Rom. 13; Phil. 2; I Thess. 5; Heb. 13; I Tim. 5.

[2] Eph. 1, 6; Lev. 20; Deut. 27; Prov. 30; I Sam. 3, 4; Deut. 21.

[3] II Sam. 19; Matt. 10; Dan. 2, 6.

Q. 55. What does the sixth commandment forbid?

R. You shall not kill.[2]

Q. 56. How is this commandment observed?

R. When we love our neighbor from the heart, showing it through friendliness and favors, always preferring him as best we can, upholding and defending him, lest any poverty, injury, or any loss in body or life happen to him.[3]

Q. 57. How is that commandment transgressed?

R. When we are angry in our heart with our neighbor contrary to the command of God, i. e., hating him, envying him, or showing some evidence of hate or anger toward him by speaking or acting; when we impatiently bear injury, and ourselves take vengeance and thereby arouse in our neighbor dissension, quarrels, unfriendliness, and killing; or when we bring injury to his body, or avenge by any method, rather than restraining ourselves from vengeance entirely.[4]

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[1] Acts 5; Matt. 27; Ex. 22; Psm. 82. [2] Matt. 5.

[3] Rom. 12; Lk. 6; Zach. 7; I Jn. 3, 4; Eph. 4; Ecclesiasticus 4; Gen. 14; Ex. 2.

[4] Matt. 5; Jn. 3; Matt. 5; Rom. 12; I Thess. 5.

Q. 58. Must an injury not be punished?

R. Yes, but not by you. Rather, you should not even wish such a thing with respect and in kindness to yourself, but you shall pray for your enemy and allow God to proceed in his own way. All vengeance belongs to him, and he will punish that injury; for he will not dismiss evil without punishment, but in his own right time.[1]

Q. 59. Will an injury be punished by no one on earth?

R. For this, God has instituted on earth the magistrates, that in his place and as his special ministers, they may remove and punish all injury, violence, and crime, and likewise all blasphemies against God, for the glory of God, and for the maintenance of peace and piety in the Church.[2]

Q. 60. Does the magistracy ever exceed that command?

R. Doubtlessly. They are certainly murderers if they inflict punishment contrary to the law and not from the motive of duty alone (having been moved to duty neither by vindictiveness nor by ambition), and particularly if they shed innocent blood, or allow it to be shed by others, or if they do not ward it off by other means, where they can prevent it and where it is in their power to do so.[3]

Q. 61. What is the seventh commandment?

R. You shall not be an adulterer.

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[1] Prov. 25; Matt. 5; Rom. 12; Lk. 6; Deut. 32; Rom. 12; Ex. 20; Jer. 32.

[2] Rom. 13; Deut. 13, 19; Num. 15; Lev. 24; I Tim. 2.

[3] Isa. 10; Prov. 17; Deut. 19; I Kings 21; I Peter 2.

Q. 62. How is that commandment observed?

R. When we live purely, modestly, frugally, and conscientiously. Also when we avoid and shun all temptations to lewdness and impurity of soul and body, in our words and works, in eating and drinking, and in attire and every action.[1]

Q. 63. How is that commandment violated?

R. When we cause some disgrace, fornication, unchastity, or impurity in soul or body, by deed, word, or thought, or whenever we give ourselves to a certain illicit love, by whatever name it is known. Also, when we do not avoid, but desire causes of this sin, which are frenzied banquets, orgies, wanton and licentious words or songs and foolishness; and whatever further excess is contrary to the command of God in intemperate eating, drinking, clothing, and all else of this sort; or activities, such as lewd pictures, books, and amorous writings; summed up, anything in any way whatever by which we are aroused to an illicit and impure kind of life.[2]

Q. 64. What do you say concerning the practise of married life?

R. Conjugal copulation, established by the plan of God, the Lord declares to be good, and praises those who follow his command (which is completely rational for pure living); thus, it is the demand for all men, wherever they are, unless they are not especially suited for it by God, or endowed for it by nature.[1]

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[1] Eph. 5; Lk. 21.

[2] Matt. 5; Gal. 5; I Cor. 10; Eph. 5; Deut. 23; Lev. 19; I Cor. 6; Gal. 5; Eph. 4, 5; Isa. 5; I Peter 3; I Tim. 2.

Q. 65. What does the eighth commandment say?

R. You shall not steal.

Q. 66. How is that commandment observed?

R. When we permit each one to be master of his own fortunes, practise justice and equity toward our neighbor, giving him his due, and faithfully exercising all the attention that is allowed and in our power to give, according to the law of Christian love, that we may support, promote, and preserve his welfare, resources, and employment. Also, when we show ourselves generous and compassionate to him, serving, lending, and giving, in proportion to his needs and as we ourselves are able, to the end that each of us will work diligently according to his ability and calling.[2]

Q. 67. How is that commandment violated?

R. When we remove the means and resources of our neighbor against his will, bringing injury or annoyance to him, in whatever way this sort of thing is done, either secretly or publicly, as in fighting, plundering, stealing, fraud, lying, cheating, usury, the unlawful lending of money at interest, false merchandising, or in other unjust and shameful ways by which all things of that sort have already been practised. Also, when in the stress of temporal affairs, with zeal or avarice being the motive for increasing our possessions, we procure money or resources to the detriment of our neighbor's obtaining; when we do not correct the inner faults of our hearts, which are inclined to avarice, the root of all evil. But also, when, through strict frugality, we do not expend from our lawful inheritance and profit, the necessary alms for the advantage of the needy. Also, when we demand and take more from the Church than is required for the frugal performance of its services and the support of its ministers; and also when the Church refuses to meet the need. Further, when the magistrate exacts from the subjects an unsuitable tax or poll (except for the saving of the nation), and when the subjects refuse to pay it.[1]

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[1] Heb. 13; I Cor. 7; I Cor. 7; Matt. 19; I Cor. 1, 7.

[2] II Thess. 4; Lk. 6; I Cor. 13; Deut. 15; Psm. 37, 112; Matt. 5; Lk. 6; Acts 20; I Cor. 16; II Cor. 8; Tobit 4; (Ex. 15).

Q. 68. What is the ninth commandment?

R. You shall not falsely testify against your neighbor.[2]

Q. 69. How is that commandment observed?

R. When, in each affair of life's activity, in actions, words, or deeds, we uphold and speak the truth without any pretense; and when, with all conscientiousness and diligence, we protect and help our neighbor, as much as we are able, in furthering his honor and reputation; and when we are prepared to conceal all his shame as if it were our own.[3]

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[1] I Thess. 5; Prov. 20; Jer. 5; I Cor. 3; Prov. 29; Zach 5; Deut. 28; Ex. 22; Lev. 25; Deut. 23; II Thess. 5; Ezek. 18; Deut. 8; Matt. 6; Lk. 12; Phil. 4; I Tim. 6; Psm. 4; Jas. 5; Ezek. 34; I Cor. 17; II Cor. 11; I Tim. 5; Gal. 5; Rom. 13; Matt. 12.

[2] Rom. 13.

[3] Eph. 4; Zach. 8; Psm. 15; Prov. 10, 11; Gal. 6; I Peter 4; I Cor. 13.

Q. 70. How is that commandment violated?

R. When we lie about our neighbor, testify falsely, or permit or allow any such thing at all (if you should be sitting as a judge, advocate, witness, or spectator); when we conceal the truth by deceit, petty distrust, accusation, chicanery, or harmful silence, or clamor, by which concealment, our neighbor's reputation, person, or name would receive damage in a judgement, or in other respects.[1]

Q. 71. What is the tenth commandment?

R. You must not covet your neighbor's house; neither shall you covet his wife, his male servant, his female servant, his ox, his ass, his field; in short, anything which is your neighbor's.

Q. 72. How is that commandment observed?

R. In this commandment all the remaining rules of the two tables are declared and developed. It is observed, when, having been inwardly gifted with the love of God and of our neighbor, we are free and empty in our hearts from all petty desires, never wanting, pondering, or deciding anything in the heart, unless it is according to the will of God. Indeed, we must be as perfect in all things as Adam before he violated the command of God; in fact, as heavenly as the Angels of God.[2]

Q. 73. How is that commandment violated?

R. When we, having been tempted to it, have certain petty desires and inclinations which are not harmonious with the will of God; and when we reflect upon or receive anything in the heart (unexpectedly occurring in howsoever small a degree) which is impossible to harmonize with the purity and holiness of God. Wherefore, if such a thing, having occurred to us, is evident to and understood by us, we will not doubt it to be condemned by God in this commandment.[1]

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[1] Ex. 22; Lev. 18; Prov. 6; Jn. 18; Deut. 18; Prov. 19; Deut. 1, 16.

[2] Rom. 7; Matt. 5; Deut. 10; Eph. 4; Col. 3.

Q. 74. May we not combine these commandments of God in an abridgement?

R. Certainly. You shall love the Lord your God with all your heart, all your soul, all your mind, and all your strength. You shall love your neighbor as yourself. Whatever you wish men should do to you, you shall also do to them. In this are contained all the commandments of God; in fact, the whole of the law and prophets.[2]

Q. 75. But who is our neighbor?

R. All men, no matter whom, whether friend or foe, without discrimination, who live or dwell near us, or who, in some other way are yoked to us by the Lord and need us, all of whom we will serve, help and assist as best we can.[3]

Q. 76. Shall we, then, do rightly to all men equally?

R. By all means. You should aid anyone when possible. But, if you cannot do it, yet your heart shall be open to everyone, and if there is any way by which you can sacrifice in your frugal, Christian sustenance, you shall hold to this method and distinction in this distribution, which is written in the Scriptures, namely, that your love is devoted first to your family, and to your friends and relatives, and to the household of faith.[1]

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[1] Rom. 7.

[2] Matt. 22; Lk. 10; Deut. 5; Lk. 5; Rom. 13; Gal. 5; Matt. 7.

[3] Lk. 10; Lk. 6; Gal. 5, 6.

Q. 77. What has the Lord already said of those who either violate or observe that commandment?

R. He says, as the statement in the second commandment shows, "I am the Lord your God, unable to bear insult, visiting the sins of the fathers on the children, even to the third and fourth generations of those who hate me. However, I show mercy and forgiveness to thousands of people, who love me and keep my commandments."[2]

Q. 78. What does the Lord God mean by these words?

R. With these words he wishes to place before our eyes his severe, eternal, and immutable justice; how greatly and how very much he values every one of these commandments of his, the least with the greatest, that all flesh may learn to fear, love, and obey him.[3]

Q. 79. Can man, of himself, satisfy and complete God's law, that he may undergo the judgement of God, and thereafter obtain a happy life and salvation?

R. Alas! By no means. The son of God would have come in error to complete it, if man had had the strength for it. But, since our nature has been utterly corrupted that it is impossible for us not to sin, God, through pure mercy, sent his only son, to complete it for us, for we would have been able in no other way.[1]

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[1] Lk. 6; Isa. 56; Gal. 6; II Cor. 8; I Tim. 5; Gal. 6; Acts 4; Eph. 1.

[2] Ex. 20. [3] Psm. 5; Rom. 1.

Q. 80. Has man not been endowed with a free will by God, that he could accomplish this?

R. In the beginning, before the fall, the first man was created thus by God, but by the disobedience and sin of Adam this free will was lost in us.[2]

Q. 81. How should I understand this?

R. Indisputably, the image and likeness of God, in which man was created in the beginning, along with all inclination for good, was lost in him.

Q. 82. How should I understand this?

R. This image of God was in Adam in the beginning, by virtue of which he was immortal, holy, wise, and lord of the entire world, and thus was endowed with the freedom and ability to either completely execute or disregard the commandment of God. However, the image of God in himself and in all of us he so destroyed by his sin, that henceforth, all offerings intended for goodness were utterly destroyed both in himself and in all of us.[3]

Q. 83. How could we be hurt by Adam's transgression?

R. At that time we were all confined in Adam's loins, who, after the fall, was not able to beget us, from a female sinner of a perverse disposition and nature, any better than he himself was. Thus, it is that we are not only conceived in sin in the mother's womb, but are born as servants of sin and sons of wrath, and in our nature have neither any knowledge nor inclination, nor will, which would prompt us to the commandment of God, to such an extent that by nature, we can do nothing except sin.[1]

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[1] Rom. 3, 5; Gal. 2; Matt. 5; Gen. 6, 8, 11; Jer. 17; Job 14, 15; Jn. 3; Rom. 5, 7, 8; I Cor. 2; Eph. 2; Jn. 2; Titus 3; Rom. 3, 8.

[2] Gal. 2, 5; Ecclesiasticus 15; Eph. 4; Rom. 5; I Cor. 15; Eph. 9.

[3] Eph. 4; Gen. 2; Psm. 8; Ecclesiasticus 15; Gen. 3; I Cor. 15.

Q. 84. Can man not keep himself from sin and avoid it?

R. If we refer to external sinful acts, such as slander, killing, adultery, stealing, drunkenness, and other things of that kind, the ability has been given us in part through the innate natural powers (we attempt it with all diligence--since surely we also have been under obligation) to keep ourselves from such sins. If we wish to consider sin as it pertains to the inner perversity of our nature, then we can never be without sin. In fact, we are unable to do anything but sin as long as we live here.[2]

Q. 85. What! Can we not satisfy the law if we outwardly preserve ourselves from sin?

R. By no means! For God has not been satisfied with the external appearance of duty, but desires the heart, because it has been corrupted with unyielding evil, by which it happens that it cannot completely observe the law, which is spiritual.[3]

Q. 86. Since the law of God was given as life to those who observe it, and as death to those who violate it, and God rightly knew that, because of the weakness of the flesh, we could not observe it, why did he give it?[1]

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[1] Rom. 5; Psm. 15; Rom. 7; Eph. 2; Jn. 3. [2] Phil. 3; Rom. 7.

[3] Deut. 6, 10, 11, 26; Matt. 22; Jer. 17; Rom. 7; Gal. 5.

R. The scripture teaches three reasons.

Q. 87. What is the first?

R. So God could place before our eyes and reveal, as in a mirror, the image for which we were created in the beginning, as well as the perverse nature into which we have now lapsed.[2]

Q. 88. How does this happen?

R. The law places before us our original creation, when in the beginning man had been created in that condition which the Lord required in his law. We should, then, apprehend our perverse nature in this requirement, which has been prescribed for in the law, even though we have long been otherwise disposed and inclined.[3]

Q. 89. Why is it profitable to perceive it from the Law?

R. That we may know of what nature we now are, always sinners and damned, debtors to God, who are never able to pay, but who must remain debtors in eternity, so that in all our unnatural obstinateness, we might always be mindful of our debt, as often as we conscientiously consider it.[4]

Q. 90. What is the second reasons for the law being given?

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[1] Rom. 8. [2] Rom. 8.

[3] Rom. [No chapter was indicated here, though space was left for one in the text. Chapter 7 is apropos to the answer.]

[4] I Jn. 1; I Tim. 1; Rom. 3; Gal. 3; Matt. 18; Lk. 17; Rom. 3; Eph. 2.

R. That it might lead us (now confessing the perverse quality of our nature), as a schoolmaster, to Christ the Savior, who is the end of the law, and who fulfilled it in our place, since it was weak due to the perverse quality of our nature.[1]

Q. 91. How is the law a schoolmaster, leading us to Christ?

R. The law promises life to those who observe it, and death to its violators. Since no mortal will have observed it (only Christ alone shall have appeased our condemnation by his death), and obtained life by his fulfillment, the law, then, is our motive, indeed it compels all of us, who wish to live and to avert our condemnation, to the presence of Christ as the only Savior, and to seek help at the throne of grace, since he himself is the end of the law.[2]

Q. 92. How are we profited by knowing Christ as the end of the law?

R. Our sinful conscience is consoled, soothed, and quieted, since we perceive, by faith, that Christ is our fulfillment in all things, and that he, in whom there can be no condemnation, along with all which he acquired, is wholly ours.[3]

Q. 93. What is the third reason for the law?

R. That by the law, all mortals, who despise, misrepresent, and hold in derision the very great and unutterable benefits of the Lord Christ, would learn of eternal condemnation. Indeed, such call forth upon themselves the wrath of God, in an exhibition of the true judgement of God, which will be required by the precepts of the law.[1]

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[1] Gal. 3; Heb. 7; Rom. 8; Isa. 53.

[2] Lev. 19, 25, 26; Deut. 27, 28; Gal. 3; Rom. 10; Rom. 3; Heb. 4, 7; Rom. 8; Gal. 3, 4; Rom. 2; Heb. 4; I Jn. 2; Rom. 10.

[3] Rom. 5; Eph. 2; Gal. 3; I Cor. 1; Col. 1; Rom. 8.

Q. 94. Of what benefit is it, to have this clearly evident to us?

R. In the first place we are encouraged by this to act in gratitude toward God, who, through his grace in Christ, has saved us from the association and cunning of evil men, who, for all that, were like them in our nature.

In the second place, the horrible punishment, which will pursue the despisers of Christ, encourages us all to avoid all sin and transgression, lest it should burst violently on us. Likewise, to yield, with all diligence, to the law of God, lest we be seized by such punishments.[2]

Q. 95. Does not Christ free us in every way from the law?

R. He has freed us absolutely, to such a degree that Paul can say, for this reason, we are not under law but under grace.[3]

Q. 96. Why, then, is the law urged on us and obedience made mandatory, if we have been freed from it and are not under it?

R. Correctly, liberty is to be understood from this, but not carnal liberty.[4]

Q. 97. How is this?

R. Actually, Christ did not free us from obedience to the law, that we might do what is forbidden in the law (which is the eternal will of God, from which not even a tittle will ever fall); rather, he saved us only from the condemnation of the law.[1]

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[1] Rom. 5; II Peter 2; Matt. 25.

[2] Matt. 7; Lk. 6; Gal. 6; Matt. 25; II Cor. 5.

[3] Rom. 6. [4] Gal. 5.

Q. 98. How should I understand this?

R. He has, indeed, been sacrificed for us, fulfilled the curse for us, since we were unable because of our perverse nature; thus, the curse of the law has been removed from us all by him.[2]

Q. 99. Until now, were we bound to observe the law?

R. Completely, and at that time, even more; thereafter, the son of God was born as man and suffered for us, that we might declare our gratitude to the Lord God for such great love, so abundantly shown to us, and might escape the eternal condemnation, which will otherwise destroy all the ungrateful and despisers of the Divine mercy.[3]

Q. 100. Of what does that liberty from the law which we have in Christ now consist?

R. First, in that Christ liberated us from all the external and ceremonial regulations of the Jews, which do not affect the inner man; since they were in Christ in type, they were completed in him.[4]

Q. 101. How does this further apply?

R. In this second and, certainly, more important way; this liberty means that we, through Christ, are not accused in the judgement of God, just as if we had fulfilled all things (although this liberty does not satisfy on our part the law of faith and love); so we, being obedient to the law, walk joyfully and cheerfully as heirs rather than as servants, having been filled with the spirit of Christ.[1]

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[1] Matt. 5; Lk. 16; Matt. 5; Gal. 3.

[2] Gal. 3; Rom. 8; Isa. 53; Rom. 5. [3] Mark 16; Psm. 5; Lk. 14.

[4] Mal. 1; Dan. 9; Col. 2; Eph. 2; Gal. 4; Acts 15; Col. 2; Heb. 7, 10; Col. 2.

Q. 102. How can this be?

R. By freely obeying the law, since we know that all its condemnation, curse, and punishment have been removed from us through Christ, even though we may not fulfill it completely.

Q. 103. But how do we walk happily and cheerfully in the law?

R. When we are assured that Christ crowns and rewards our imperfect obedience, just as if it were complete; and that although we may be in our sins, we are known in the judgement of God as holy and elect sons; so thus we may progress in our obedience in all activity through our faith in Christ, as best we can.[2]

THE SECOND PART OF THE CATECHISM:

CONCERNING THE GRACE OF GOD AND THE ARTICLES OF THE FAITH

Q. 104. It was said in the preceding that we are free in respect to the penalty, torture, and condemnation of the law, and that our imperfection is known and crowned as perfection and is granted a reward, since we retain an unwavering faith; is this not true and certain?

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[1] Jn. 8; Rom. 8; I Cor. 1; Eph. 1; Col. 1; Rom. 8.

[2] Eph. 1; Col. 1; I Cor. 1.

R. Yes, without a doubt, but it must be understood not only with an unwavering, but with a true and sincere faith.

Q. 105. Why is this?

R. Because man, in many ways, and because of his genius, could conceive many things about God in excess of his promise, although it would nevertheless be false.

Q. 106. What, then, is the true faith?

R. The right and true faith has three characteristics, and where any one of these is lacking, we glory in the faith in vain.

Q. 107. What are these three characteristics?

R. The first is that we alone consider God and his infallible word.[1]

Q. 108. What is the benefit of observing this?

R. Here we understand that it is not permissible to build our faith on any creature save God, nor must we believe in things pertaining to religion apart from the written word of God, which is infallible and eternal in its sure discernment; otherwise we shall err in the true faith and shall judge with distorted reason in divine things, just as the world does.[2]

Q. 109. What is the second characteristic of the right and true faith?

R. To have faith in the words of God with sure confidence and without any reservation, whether or not human nature understands it, as in the example of Abraham, who kept a sure faith in hope, in which, according to human nature, nothing ought to have been hoped.[1]

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[1] Isa. 43; Rom. 10; I Cor. 2.

[2] Eph. 1; Col. 1; Jn. 17; Lk. 21; Jer. 37.

Q. 110. What does the observance of the second characteristic contain for us?

R. It reminds us of the weakness of our faith and of the irresolute condition of our nature, that we may lament it continously in the presence of God--unanimously begging with the Apostles that he would increase and strengthen our faith--also, that we diligently take advantage of the assists to faith in the ministry of the word and Sacraments ordained by the Lord Christ; moreover, that we should not doubt that he shall supply us, if, we should lack anything in our faith, and shall give bountifully, if, in faith, we would ask for anything.[2]

Q. 111. What is the third characteristic of the right and true faith?

R. That the faith derives its origin from neither an opinion about our nature, nor from any other thing at all, except from the word of God through the power of the Holy Spirit.[3]

Q. 112. What benefit is there in always heeding this third characteristic?

R. We are able to easily discern from here on the right and true faith from the false type of faith which Satan always upholds, which he would force on us in place of the true faith.

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[1] Col. 2; Rom. 4; Gen. 12, 22.

[2] Mark 9; Lk. 7; Rom. 10; Col. 1; I Cor. 1; Jn. 14; Matt. 11.

[3] I Cor. 12; I Cor. 12.

Q. 113. What is that false type?

R. Namely, our own way of thinking about God and all divine things, deduced from our own nature and from ignorance and certain concealed passages of scripture.

Q. 114. Show me by example how this results.

R. When we hear that Christ has completely paid for us, that which we owed to him, at that moment Satan is present and attempts to falsely persuade us that we shall have the mercy of God and the benefits of the Lord Christ, as well as his power, regardless of how we finally determine our life.[1]

Q. 115. Should this be believed although contrary to what is right?

R. Every such faith is merely the thinking of men and not the true and necessary faith. True faith is born from the word of God through the power of the Holy Spirit, who is never discerned as idle in man, but is producing in him its fruits according to the law. Therefore, the right and true faith does not confirm the mercy of God through Christ, unless, instead of our crippled faculties, we would always continue with obedience to the law and the works of the spirit, and not sin against our conscience.[2]

Q, 116. What are the fruits and the works which the Spirit produces in the faithful?

R. They are varied, but the gifts and fruits of the Spirit, which can never be separated from faith, are all encompassed in love, namely, that we ought to love God above all else and our neighbor as ourselves, with which it happens that we may hold, love, and attend with all our heart to that which pleases God, and serve our neighbor with every act of righteousness.[1]

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[1] Isa. 53; Rom. 5. [2] Gal. 5; I Jn. 1.

Q. 117. Must we then be concerned about God and our neighbor to believe aright?

R. Absolutely, for this is the nature of all the sons of God, though some are more zealous in this than others, depending on the amount of the gift given him by the Lord.[2]

Q. 118. What is a right and true faith?

R. Faith is a sure, unshaken, undeceptive awareness of the divine favor and mercy toward us, together with the certainty of the gracious promises confirmed in Christ, which is disclosed to and sealed in our minds and hearts through the Holy Spirit.[3]

Q. 119. What shall we believe about all this kindness and mercy of God, and what shall we look for in the faith?

R. Whatever the scripture says. However, particular parts of our faith, having been honestly extracted from scripture, are summed up in a short abridgement, which is the articles of the Christian faith, or Apostolic Symbol, as it is called. It is the common, simple confession of all Christians, and the valid standard of the original undoubted, true, and traditional Christian faith.

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[1] Gal. 5. [2] Rom. 8; I Jn. 3; I Cor. 12; Matt. 13; Eph. 4.

[3] Heb. 11; Rom. 4; Rom. 3; Jn. 15, 17; Rom. 10.

Q. 120. Since in these times of extreme danger (of which even Christ and the Apostles prophecied, and in which so very many varied errors are daily appearing) we must be sure of what we follow, will you recite to us, please, those articles of the faith which are called the Symbol?[1]

R. I believe in God the Father, almighty, Creator of heaven and earth, and in Jesus Christ his only son, our Lord, who was conceived by the Holy Spirit, born of the virgin Mary, suffered under Pontius Pilate, was crucified, died and was buried; he descended into hell, on the third day he rose from the dead; he ascended into heaven, and now sits at the right hand of God the Father almighty, from whence he shall come for the judgement of the living and the dead.

I believe in the Holy Spirit.

I believe in the holy, Christian Church, which is the communion of saints, the remission of sins, the resurrection of the body, and life everlasting, Amen.

Q. 121. How are these twelve articles of the faith divided?

R. We can divide them into three parts, according to the three persons of the holy Trinity; Father, Son, and Holy Spirit.

Q. 122. Pray tell, what is the first article of the faith and common confession.

R. I believe in God the Father, almighty, Creator of heaven and earth.[2]

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[1] Matt. 24; II Thess. 2; II Tim. 2.

[2] Gen. 1; (Mal. 22; Joel 32).

Q. 123. What do you believe about this article?

R. I believe and confess with certainty that God, the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, is the almighty God, who, by his power, created from nothing the heaven and the earth and all that is in them, and now rules and sustains universally with an orderly government, bestowing being, life, and motion on all things.[1]

Q. 124. Why does the Scripture call God, "Father," and speak of him as being omnipotent?[2]

R. To comfort and strengthen our faith, and for the satisfying consolation of all the faithful.

Q. 125. What sort of consolation does the little word, "Father," have?

R. It is plainly: incomparable consolation to hear in life and in death, that the Supreme God, the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, also wishes in like manner to be our father, to such a degree that he willingly wishes to care for us who are as abject little worms, no less than among humans an earthly father embraces his own son, and wants us to be sons and heirs of eternal life.[3]

Q. 126. Isn't God a Father to all creatures?

R. Not at all. Although the Lord may be the Creator and Sustainer of all creatures; nevertheless, he is the father of only the faithful, who acknowledge him in his son, place faith in him, and love and fear him.[1]

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[1] Eph. 1; Jer. 27, 32; Isa. 42, 44; Gen. 12; Jn. 15; Acts 17; (Ex. 15; Gen. 1).

[2] Matt. 23; Ex. 15.

[3] Eph. 1; Jn. 20; Isa. 63; Psm. 103; Matt. 7; Lk. 11, 15.

Q. 127. What consolation does it bring us to know our God is omnipotent?

R. If we apprehend this by faith, we receive positive consolation, for we can firmly rely on him, whom none can resist, who not only wishes, because of his fatherly mercy, but can give to us, because of his almighty power, an inheritance, and in any way, anywhere, and any time he might wish, help us; under his protection, therefore, we are secure and happy and can detach ourselves from all creatures.[2]

Q. 128. But if the Lord God is the completely omnipotent Father, why does he frequently permit his own to be oppressed, and does not help them?

R. For, although he does frequently help such persons, he will be esteemed no less as an omnipotent Father, if he does not; for it is not as if he could not or would not aid his own, but that it is not profitable for their salvation and for the glory of his name. Although this seems contrary to the flesh according to its carnal expectations and lusts, yet the spirit of faith always discerns a present aid.[3]

Q. 129. Is it enough to believe what has been said concerning the Father?

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[1] Jn. 8; I Tim. 4; Jn. 20; (Jn. 3).

[2] Isa. 46 [not 4 and 6 as in 1551 ed.]; Jer. 22; I Jn. 4; Psm. 55; Heb. 13.

[3] I Cor. 1.

R. Yes, provided that we perceive that we must place in him alone all our hope and all assurance of eternal salvation, as our greatest good, and commit ourselves to his almighty power and fatherly goodness, which he reveals together with his ineffable wisdom in the creation of creatures; and that he can extend in eternity absolutely no innocence to him who does not trust, praise, and adore him.[1]

Q. 130. What is the second article of the Christian faith?

R. I believe in Jesus Christ, his only son, our Lord.[2]

Q. 131. What does this mean?

R. I place all my hope and assurance of eternal life and salvation in Jesus Christ, the son of God, who is not only the mighty Lord of sin and death and hell, which he deprived of all strength, that they can never prevail; but he is our Lord also, who released us from sin's claim, freed us from Satan, and takes us to himself, that he may always defend us, as a householder does for his family.[3]

Q. 132. Why is he named "Jesus"?

R. His name was given by the Father, announced by the Angels, and bestowed at his circumcision, according to his office.[4] "Jesus" signifies a Savior, thus reminding us by his name that he is the only Savior, who frees people from their sins.[5]

Q. 133. Why is he called "Christ," and what sort of name is

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[1] Rom. 1; Prov. 19. [2] Jn. 1, 6.

[3] Jn. 14; Jn. 9; Hos. 13; I Cor. 15; Lk. 11; Heb. 2; I Cor. 7; Col. 1, 2.

[4] Lk. 2. [5] Matt. 1; Lk. 2; Matt. 1.

Christ"?[1]

R. Among the ancients, it was the common name of all Priests, Prophets, and Kings, who, anointed at God's command with the designated oil of the olive, were to signify to us this Jesus who was actually and truly to come, promised and anointed by God; he was the eternal Prophet, Priest, and King, and therefore, the true Christ, and thus may be called the "anointed of God."[2]

Q. 134. Are priests any longer anointed by the command of God?

R. No indeed. Since the external anointing was a figure of Christ, it was fulfilled and ended by his coming.[3]

Q. 135. Are there no priests any more?

R. The Church of Christ has its ordained ministers, who are in fact ordained according to the word of God and who are called Priests in the Scripture; but it recognizes no one as externally anointed priests, since the external sacrifices are ended. Truly Christ, who, by his single sacrifice, has acquired eternal salvation for all the elect, is now and continues in eternity as priest, having been anointed apart from all his brothers by the Holy Spirit, which brothers are now consecrated through his completeness as Kings and Priests in the Spirit to the Lord.[4]

Q. 136. Why does the Scripture call him the only son of God.[5]

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[1] Matt. 16. [2] I Sam. 1; I Kings 19; Lev. 8; Matt. 16; Lk. 9.

[3] Dan. 9.

[4] Acts 13, 24; Titus 1; Eph. 4; Heb. 10; Heb. 7; Heb. 1; Heb. 2; Rev. 5.

[5] Jn. 1.

R. To compare the unique distinction existing between him and the faithful. He alone has the nature and divine substance of the Father, God of God, and was born of the splendor of his glory, through whom all the faithful are adopted as sons by the grace of God, who otherwise, because of their nature and disposition, ought to have been sons of wrath and death.[1]

Q. 137. How and why does Christ adopt us?

R. For the reason related in the following articles (3, 4, 5, 6, and 7).

Q. 138. What are these?

R. Who was conceived by the Holy Spirit, and born of the virgin Mary.

Q. 139. What does this mean?

R. That I truly believe the eternal and only son of God to have been conceived in time only by the miraculous power of the Holy Spirit, without the natural and carnal power of any man, and to have been born of the virgin Mary as a true, natural man.[2]

Q. 140. Isn't it necessary for Christ to be truly human?

R. Not only truly human, but a participant of our flesh and blood.[3]

Q. 141. Why?

R. Condemnation and satisfaction were placed on the flesh of Adam. Therefore, if Christ had not taken his flesh from Adam, he would not have been able to satisfy the law in our place, nor, by his payment, to liberate us from its condemnation, nor to regain for us eternal life by obedience to the law.[1]

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[1] Jn. 14; Heb. 1; Phil. 2; Jn. 1; Eph. 2.

[2] Matt. 1; Lk. 1; Gal. 4. [3] Eph. 5; Heb. 2.

Q. 142. How do you show Jesus to be a true man, born of the virgin Mary?

R. In that, he, conceived and born of Mary, the honored mother, is said to be the son of man, and to be of the seed and fruit of woman, and is a participant in our flesh and blood, and has been made like all men in all things, except sin. If, therefore, these words, "son," "mother," "seed," and "fruit," can mean nothing else in the sacred Scripture than in other writings, stories, and tongues, we rightly prove from this source that Jesus Christ, the son of God, was made flesh of our flesh, true man, and a natural son of Mary according to the flesh. On the other hand, if "son," "mother," "seed," "offspring," "to conceive," "to obey," "to be a suckling," "to grow up," signified and were something else in the Prophetic and Apostolic Writings, than in all other common talk, what certainty would we have, and what could they say to us of the cross, death, and resurrection, life, and condemnation? Thus, the entire Scripture, the word of God, the Divine truth would become uncertain for us.[2]

Q. 143. Why is it necessary that Christ be conceived and born as a man not in the natural way, but by a virgin through the power of the Holy Spirit?[1]

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[1] Gen. 2, 3; (Lk. 1).

[2] Lk. 12; Matt. 1, 2; Jn. 1; Lk. 21; Gen. 3; Ex. 2; Heb. 2, 4; Eph. 5.

R. For the reason that he be absolutely holy and clean, without any blemish or sin, not only in his life, but also in his conception and origin, according to the desire of fatherly mercy, so that he might remove, cleanse, and repress the fleshly contamination of all the elect, along with whatever deformity might be remaining in them, and acquire true justice for us; thus, neither of himself nor without that sort of origin, would it have been possible.[2]

Q. 144. How could flesh be born from our flesh in such a way that a man would not have taken on himself the perverse disposition of our flesh and human nature?

R. Though a mother causes her son to be the heir of a sinful human nature and perverse disposition, yet we must concede that the almighty Father sanctified his offspring, preserving him undefiled, and keeping him from any contamination of a sinful nature. Since sin clings to our carnal nature and is transferred by sexual intercourse, it can be withdrawn from us, so that human nature continues, just as it was in Adam and will be in the resurrection of all the elect.[3]

Q. 145. Have you anything else to say about the son of God becoming man?

R. This one thing must be maintained; that he was man, not because he laid aside or lost his divinity, but, as has been said, because he resigned himself and accepted lowly human nature; yet, he also remained as he was from the beginning, so that both of these natures remained in Christ without any co-mingling, although he concealed in this world the splendor and glory of his divinity by the infirmity of human nature. Thus, it is written in Scripture that Christ repeatedly speaks of himself according to his divine nature which he had from the beginning of the world, and repeatedly of his human nature which he assumed in his time, having been born of the virgin Mary.[1]

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[1] Isa. 7; Matt. 1; Lk. 1.

[2] Lk. 1; Isa. 53; Jer. 23, 33; I Jn. 3; I Peter 2; Heb. 4.

[3] Psm. 51; Rom. 5; Lk. 1; Gen. 2, 5; I Cor. 15; Phil. 3; II Cor. 4.

Q. 146. Of what value is this to us for the son of God to have been made truly man?

R. By this we understand him to be our brother, and that we all have together in him a participation in one body and blood, and since he wished to conquer Satan in our flesh, we know our victory is his, and that we are accepted into the eternal sharing of his heavenly riches.[2]

Q. 147. What more did the son of God, Jesus Christ, do on our behalf?

R. He suffered under Pontius Pilate, was crucified, died, and was buried; he descended into hell.

Q. 148. What does this mean?

R. I believe and confess that Jesus Christ, at the time when Pilate was a governor for Tiberius Caesar, and was sitting as judge in Jerusalem, was seized, suffered, and was condemned to the fork of the tree, and thus, met a shameful death and was buried according to the story of the Gospels.[1]

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[1] Heb. 2; I Cor. 3; Phil. 2; Jn. 17; Jn. 3; Jn. 17; Eph. 4; I Jn. 1.

[2] Heb 2; Jn. 2; Heb. 2; Rom. 8; Eph. 1.

Q. 149. Why did this happen?

R. Not because of his own sins, but because of ours and those of the entire world, that he might bear sin in his holy, single, and eternal sacrifice, and reconcile us to God. Therefore, he stood as the image of the true mediator, wholly in place of the sinner, confronting the wrath of God: he satisfied the justice of God and thus, freed us from sin, death, hell, and the devil.[2]

Q. 150. Then the obedience of Christ, his passion and death are the causes by which our reconciliation was accomplished?

R. Absolutely, and in no other way. And if we would inquire into the basis and power of our faith, we would, of necessity, arrive at this conclusion and in this all our wisdom and boasting ought to be placed, for in this he reconciled us to God, absolved sin, conquered the Devil, swallowed death, and recovered eternal glory and salvation.[3]

Q. 151. What does this mean?

R. Truly, the punishment for our sin must be paid in our flesh, that the true judgement of God might be satisfied; now, in Christ's flesh (i. e., in our flesh) it has been discharged and dismissed.[1]

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[1] Matt. 27; Mark 15; Lk. 23; Jn. 18.

[2] Isa. 53; Rom. 4; Jn. 1; II Cor. 5; Heb. 7, 10; Eph. 1, 2; Col. 1, 2; Isa. 53; Heb. 2; I Cor. 15; I Cor. 1.

[3] Jn. 6; Titus 2; Col. 2; I Peter 2; I Cor. 1; Gal. 6; Phil. 3; I Cor. 1, 2; Rom. 3, 5; I Jn. 2, 4; Eph. 2; Isa. 53; Dan. 9; Zach. 3, 12; Gen. 3; Jn. 3.

Q. 152. Was it possible for God to be satisfied and us to be helped in any other way than by the shameful passion and death of his son?

R. No indeed! This was required by the justice of God, and it was in conformity with his great mercy and wisdom, that in this way the great weight of our sins, for which the very son of God was obligated to suffer, and the ineffable love of God, who spared not even his own son for us, might be plainly shown to us in him. Likewise, that we should bear our suffering and the cross of those who are suffering, just as the Lord did, and willingly bear up under disgrace and dishonor for his sake, for we are enlightened and encouraged by those who are one with Christ in glory.[2]

Q. 153. What else do you believe about our Lord, Jesus Christ?

R. I believe that he was raised from death on the third day.

Q. 154. What does this mean?

R. I believe and confess Jesus Christ, the holy one of God, to be devoid of all stain and sin, and unable to be bound by the ties of death, which entered the world only because of sin. Therefore, by his Divine power he surmounted death and hell, and on the third day he rose anew, and appeared in life to his disciples impassible and immortal.[3]

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[1] Col. 2; Heb. 2; Lk. 1, 11; Hos. 13; Isa. 25; I Cor. 15; II Tim. 1; I Peter 3; I Thess. 5; Dan. 9; Gal. 3; Gen. 3; Rom. 8, 5; Heb. 2; Eph. 5.

[2] Lk. 23; Jn. 3; Rom. 8; I Jn. 4; I Peter 2; Phil. 2; Heb. 13; Rom. 8.

[3] Acts 2; Gen. 3; Rom. 5; I Cor. 15; Jn. 10; Matt. 28; Mark 16; Lk. 24; Jn. 2; I Cor. 15; Phil. 3; I Cor. 15.

Q. 155. Of what value is the resurrection of Christ to us?

R. By the sure resurrection of Christ, the persuasion has come to us that death, hell, and the devil were overcome, sin was removed, eternal justice was effected for us, and that we were united with the father by effectual faith. Indeed, the sure proof will be shown to us when, one day, we will be resurrected in our bodies, freed from death, the devil, and hell; thus, we may presently expect, with a happy heart, everything from the hand of God.[1]

Q. 156. What follows next about our Lord, Jesus Christ?

R. He ascended into heaven, where he is now seated at the right hand of God, the Father almighty.

Q. 157. What does this article say?

R. I believe and confess that Jesus Christ (who according to his divine nature always was in heaven), after his ministry and duty, when he had sufficiently proclaimed his resurrection, was removed into the heavens in his body, and there entered his divine glory, where there is eternal happiness and blessedness.[2]

Q. 158. What does it mean that Christ is seated at the right hand of God?[3]

R. Symbolically, these words mean that he (the human and natural having been united with the divine) received power and honor above all angels and creatures, and reigns as one with the Father from the same throne of glory, in equal power and glory in the heavens and in earth; thus, every knee should bow, every tongue acknowledge and adore him, and every creature serve him.[1]

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[1] Hos. 13; Rom. 4; Mark 16; Jn. 3; I Cor. 15; II Cor. 4; Col. 3; Jn. 5, 11; Psm. 16.

[2] Jn. 1, 3; Acts 1; Mark 16; Lk. 24; Heb. 7.

[3] I Peter 3; Heb. 10.

Q. 159. For what purpose does the Lord principally use this divine glory and power?

R. That he may rule everything now in heaven and in earth, be immediately present to all the faithful here on earth, saving them and preserving them from all calamity, and bestowing on them every good thing, interceding for them perpetually to the Father as one of the faithful and as compassionate Priest and Protector, until one day everyone may be brought, in oneness with him, into heaven in eternal honor and glory.[2]

Q. 160. Why should we believe that Christ, having been elevated into heaven, is seated on the right hand of God?

R. First, it declares to us that the way and access to heaven, which formerly was closed because of sin, is now open. Next, in every adversity, whether in body or spirit, it will comfort us and strengthen our endurance, since it encourages us to know that we have so powerful and so auspicious a defender before the Father in heaven. Next, such persuasion will persuade and compel our hearts and spirits from all things, which are worldly, at hand, visible and carnal; and will persuade and compel us toward all things which are heavenly, future, invisible and spiritual, until our Lord and guide will lift us and elevate us from this world into heaven where Christ is.[1]

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[1] Eph. 1; Col. 1, 2; Phil. 2; I Peter 3; Rom. 14; Phil. 2; Isa. 45.

[2] Eph. 1; Col. 1; Matt. 18, 28; Eph. 4; Eph. 2, 3; Jn. 14; I Tim. 2; I Jn. 2; Heb. 7; I Cor. 15.

Q. 161. Is there yet something else to confess about Christ?

R. He shall one day come here from heaven to judge the living and the dead.

Q. 162. What does this mean?

R. I believe and confess that Jesus Christ, my Lord, in his own body and in the visible glory of the Father, will return from heaven, and appear to the entire world to judge all men, both living and dead, which judgement will be for the consolation of the faithful who acknowledge him as their advocate, brother, and defender, and for the condemnation of all the unfaithful, who are unwilling to accept him and to allow him to reign in them.[2]

Q. 163. When will that judgement come?

R. The day and hour have been concealed from all flesh. In fact, we must not worry about the time, even though the Lord gave us a great many words in the Gospels which should intimate that the day may be shortly expected. However, we must labor principally for him, that we may do all we can for his purpose, being zealous in doing all that the Lord enjoined, lest the time becomes inopportune. Indeed, the uncertainty of this time will always admonish us, so that we shall never idle, but live constantly in the fear of the Lord, and having girded the loins of our mind, shall constantly prepare for the meeting with our Lord Jesus Christ, and thus, as the blessed of the Father, we may zealously devote ourselves to every good work which we can do for the convenience and welfare of our neighbor, and thus, anticipate the blessed hope and vision of the great glory of God and our Savior Jesus Christ: for happy are they who thus expect the Lord.[1]

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[1] Jn. 14, 17; Heb. 7; Rom. 8; Phil. 3; Col. 3; Rom. 6; I Cor. 8; Eph. 1, 4, 5; Col. 1, 2.

[2] Acts 1; Rev. 1; Mark 13, 14; Matt. 24, 25; Rev. 1; Mark 14; Rom. 14; II Cor. 4, 5; II Tim. 4; I Thess. 4; II Thess. 1; Matt. 25; Dan. 12; Psm. 2; Lk. 19.

Q. 164. Since we must continue, tell me, what is the third part and division of the Christian faith which we call the Symbol?

R. I believe in the Holy Spirit.

Q. 165. What does this mean?

R. I believe and confess the Spirit to be Holy, proceeding from the Father and the Son, with whom he also is the true and living God, yet the third person, who effects in us the salvation which Christ has procured for us, making us participants. Likewise, by his power and inspiration, all have been declared holy and apart from his prompting we can do nothing good nor inwardly know of divine things, for in ourselves we have nothing beyond empty darkness, ignorance, and hypocrisy.[2]

Q. 166. What, then, is the peculiar service and work of the Holy Spirit?

R. To sanctify all men in the sacred temple of the Lord, as many as belong to the covenant of the Lord in Christ, that at some time they may rise to eternal life in their bodies, and in the present have God dwelling in them; and to illuminate their hearts with the awareness of the Father and Son, lead them into all truth, console in danger and vexation, prepare for a vigorous life, establish in all goodness, and thus, renew the hearts of all the faithful, that they might begin to be new and different men.[1]

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[1] Matt. 24; (Matt. 25); Luke 12; Mark 13; Acts 1; II Thess. 5 [This is in error and should probably read chapter 1.]; Matt. 24; II Thess. 2; Lk. 12; I Peter 1; II Peter 3; Titus 2; Lk. 12.

[2] Jn. 14, 15; Matt. 28; I Cor. 12; I Cor. 6; Acts 5; Gen. 1; Jn. 5; Jn. 3; Rom. 8; II Peter 3; I Cor. 2, 12; Jn. 16; (Acts 9; Matt. 1; Acts 1; Heb. 11; I Peter 1; II Peter 1).

Q. 167. But there are many spirits. How can we discern the Holy Spirit from the human, worldly, devilish, and other petty spirits?

R. From these predicted results and from his activity, but principally from the Sacred Scriptures. For it is beyond doubt that the latter were definitely inspired by the Holy Spirit. Therefore, whatever doctrine does not agree with that, it is indisputable that it is of another spirit. For the Holy Spirit cannot contradict himself, nor advance any new doctrine in divine matters, since we have received as a promise from God, this final and established doctrine, which his Spirit now bestows on us, interpreting and making it operative in us.[2]

Q. 168. What follows next?

R. I believe in the holy Christian Church, the communion of saints.

Q. 169. What does this mean?

R. I believe and confess that the assembly of Christ's faithful ones was continuously on earth from the time of Adam until now, and will endure unimpaired to the end of the world; that the faithful have been sanctified by the Holy Spirit, have been united as members of one body under one head, for their instruction in faith and in all good works, mutually holding all things in Christ and all the gifts of God in common.[1]

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[1] I Cor. 3, 6; II Thess. 2; Rom. 8; I Jn. 3, 4; Jn. 14, 16; Gal. 5; Jn. 3; Ezek. 36; Jer. 31; (Jn. 2; Phil. 1).

[2] II Tim. 2; II Peter 1; Jn. 14, 16; Heb. 1; Gal. 1; I Cor. 4; Jn. 14; Jer. 31; Ezek. 36; (I Jn. 4; Acts 17; Jn. 5; I Peter 5; II Tim. 3; I Cor. 11; Matt. 28).

Q. 170. How is this bringing together and strengthening of the Christian Church done?

R. By sound doctrine, by the confession of the name of Christ, by rightly administering the Sacraments, and by the other instruction and guidance of the Church; by these, then, it is preserved and distinguished from other sects, so that it cannot but be easily detected and publicly visible.[2]

Q. 171. Then are all the faithful, who in this way may be joined to that assembly and might have confessed his name, both holy and righteous?

R. Not at all! There are many petty and hypocritical among them, who must be acknowledged as members of the Christian Church and of the body of Christ, as long as they confess the name of Christ and the articles of faith with their mouths, use the Sacraments, patiently bear the Christian discipline and admonition.[3]

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[1] Acts 10; Matt. 16; Lk. 1; Jer. 28; Eph. 1, 5; Rom. 12; I Cor. 12; Col. 1; Eph. 1, 4; I Peter 2; Eph. 2; Gal. 3, 5; Col. 3; (Jer. 3; Psm. 73, 88; Matt. 28).

[2] Matt. 16; Jn. 10; I Cor. 12; Eph. 2, 4; Isa. 59; Acts 4; II Cor. 6; Eph. 5; Mark 16; I Cor. 2, 10, 14; Heb. 10; (Psm. 18).

[3] Matt. 13; II Tim. 2; Rom. 9; I Cor. 11.

Q. 172. How shall the Church of Christ punish those in sin?

R. If the wickedness erupts publicly and is an offense to the Church, they must be excommunicated (naturally, having spurned all admonition), and the entire Church will avoid personal association with them.[1]

Q. 173. Why?

R. That the Devil may be confounded through shame, and converted by sincere repentance. Likewise, that the Church may know that it ought not to agree to the sin, nor to wink at it. Finally, that the Church, through an instance of evil, may not be contaminated by sin, and thus defile the name of our God.[2]

Q. 174. What comes next?

R. The remission of sins.

Q. 175. What do these words mean?

R. I believe and affirm that eternal indulgence and remission of sins are for the holy Christian Church, so that the Lord will never descend in judgement in her midst, to impute sin either for her condemnation or for her punishment.[3]

Q. 176. I understand that Christians are affected by sin; how, then, can the preceding statement about the holiness of the Christian Church stand?

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[1] Matt. 18; Gal. 5; I Cor. 5; Jn. 2; II Thess. 3; Titus 3; (II Cor. 2).

[2] II Cor. 7; II Thess. 3; I Cor. 5; I Cor. 5; Rom. 2; Matt. 18; (Ezek. 36).

[3] Isa. 33; Jer. 31, 33; Matt. 18; I Jn. 2; Rom. 3; I Cor. 5.

R. Each affirmation is equally true.

Q. 177. For what reason?

R. By faith in Christ, her head and betrothed, she has been cleansed and sanctified; for in Christ, the son of God, there can be no sin or uncleanness. However, she has been drawn into various faults and sins, which she acknowledges, with daily sorrow of heart, and she seeks, in the presence of Christ, aid and grace, and Christ daily sanctifies and renews her by his spirit within her; yet, indeed, more than enough traces of the old man still remain in the faithful.[1]

Q. 178. How is the eternal remission of sins obtained?

R. Not by any man, nor by ourselves, nor by the merit of any dead saint, nor by meritorious works, but solely by the unmerited and pure grace of God through the satisfaction of our Lord Jesus Christ, who has acquired this for us by his blood, providing this remission. His innocent death is, indeed, the payment of our guilt and sin, according to the testimony of the Gospels.[2]

Q. 179. This Gospel you mention--I want to know what I am to understand by the voice of the Gospel.

R. Primarily, you should understand the joyful message and announcement of the grace and love of God for us, expressed through Christ, his only son, who was born of the flesh and of the lineage of

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[1] Eph. 1, 5; I Cor. 1; II Cor. 5; Rom. 12; I Jn. 2; Gal. 5,3; Psm. 32; Matt. 6; Dan. 9; Rom. 7; Jn. 3; Rom. 8; Rom. 7; Jn. 15; Gal. 5.

[2] Isa. 64, 43; Titus 3, 1; Isa. 63; Titus 3; Eph. 1; Rom. 3; I Peter 1; I Jn. 1; Isa. 53; Col. 1; Eph. 1; Heb. 1; (Eph. 2; Matt. 1; Jn. 1).

David.[1]

Q. 180. Is the Gospel to be declared to everyone?

R. It is to be declared to all men, since all men are included in it, with the exception of those who intentionally despise, ridicule, or misrepresent it. It shows its force principally in the poor in spirit, who, oppressed by sin, labor diligently that they may be freed from them.[2]

Q. 181. What comes next?

R. The resurrection of the body.

Q. 182. What does this mean?

R. I believe and affirm that all men, who have died, will be called forth again on the last day, when a body (the dead having putrified, having been destroyed by the sea, fire, or interment) will unite anew with a spirit and rise from the dead, which was the way Christ, our head, was raised with his body.[3]

Q. 183. How can this be?

R. With God, who will accomplish this, nothing is impossible, just as the creation of man from nothing was not beyond his power.[4]

Q. 184. Why should the body be resurrected? Would it not have been enough for only the spirit to exist in glory or in shame?

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[1] Lk. 1; Rom. 1, 9; Acts 2; II Tim. 2.

[2] Matt. 10; II Kings 3; Rom. 5; Titus 3; I Tim. 2; II Peter 3; Lk. 14; Matt. 5, 11; (Mark 16).

[3] Ex. 3; Isa. 26; Ezek. 37; Dan. 12; Wisdom of Solomon 3; Lk. 10; Jn. 5, 19; Matt. 19; I Cor. 15; II Cor. 5; Matt. 28; Lk. 24; Jn. 20; I Cor. 15; Rom. 6, 8; (Isa. 37).

[4] Rom. 4; Lk. 1; Mark 10; Acts 26; Matt. 26; Phil. 3; Gen. 2; (II Cor. 5).

R. It did not, thus, please God for man, who is composed of two parts, a body and a soul, and who was created for salvation, to merely exist and to be an heir of eternal life according to one part of his nature; but that the soul might receive a second body, according to his plan, God required the resurrection of the whole man.[1]

Q. 185. Then man will be exactly the same after the resurrection as he is now?

R. Yes, indeed, since the resurrection pertains to the individual nature of the body, as is seen in the resurrected body of our Lord Jesus Christ; however, the faithful will be transformed, at length, into another and an eternal, ineffable form and beauty.[2]

Q. 186. How should I understand this?

R. The body, having been infected with sin and thus very weak, mortal, and perishable, has now been overwhelmed with many faults and sorrows. But then, the body will be truly holy and thus, alive, immortal, incorruptible, devoid of every fault and sorrow, completely spiritual, and adorned with power and glory, similar to the Angels of God; this is seen in the example given to the Apostles by Jesus on mount Tabor.[3]

Q. 187. Then, whoever firmly believes this is not overwhelmed by a fear of death?

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[1] Gen. 2; Phil. 1; Lk. 12; II Cor. 5.

[2] I Cor. 15; Jn. 6, 9; Rom. 8; Rev. 20; Jn. 11; II Cor. 4, 5; Phil. 3; I Thess. 4; I Cor. 15; Matt. 13, 17; I Cor. 15.

[3] Phil. 3; Matt. 13, 22; Matt. 17; Lk. 9.

R. The nature of death conveys its horror within itself, as is evident from the example of Christ; and since death is the punishment of sins, men are accustomed to be greatly frightened by it, which fear the faithful conquer, since they know death to be their way into that incorruptible life; thus, the faithful do not "take so hard" nor excessively lament the death of their dear friends, as do the Heathens, who have been left without any hope of resurrection; the faithful are like the farmer, who does not lament for grain scattered in the field, because of the certain hope of a good and bountiful harvest. Finally, the faithful always place their hope in the resurrection of the body.[1]

Q. 188. What is the final article in our Christian confession?

R. I believe in life eternal.

Q. 189. What does this mean?

R. I believe and confess that, after resurrection, the spirit and body having been united again, I will be in the joy and blessedness of heaven with Christ, the son of God, as a member of his body, and will conquer eternally, and thus, will become an heir of the kingdom of God.[2]

Q. 190. What sort of happiness will there be in eternal life?

R. No mortal tongue can declare nor the heart of man conceive it. However, it will be principally this: the faithful, with their natural eyes, will behold and contemplate eternal light and supreme goodness, and will, themselves, be united with God, and will have within themselves the eternal communion and satisfaction of every heavenly blessing. For God will then be all in all.[1]

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[1] Lk. 22; Gen. 3; I Cor. 15; Rom. 5, 6; Jn. 16, 17; Heb. 4, 11; Phil. 1; I Thess. 4; Job 19; II Thess. 4; I Cor. 15.

[2] Jn. 5; I Cor. 8; I Thess. 4; II Cor. 4, 5; Matt. 25; (I Peter 1; I Cor. 15; I Cor. 5).

Q. 191. What of the unbelieving and impious, of whom nothing has been said?

R. Even as they are raised to eternal confusion, perdition, and condemnation, so also they will certainly be deprived of the blessedness and glory of the faithful, and their lot will be in the inextinguishable fire and extreme darkness, where there will be eternal misery, weeping, and gnashing of teeth.[2]

Q. 192. Of what profit is it to believe this article on eternal life?

R. Very much! When this article of the faith is rejected, the remaining articles are either not believed, or believed in vain. When this article is received with a true and sincere faith, it conveys various results, which are a peaceful conscience, delight in God, and thus, patience in affliction, and also a contempt for the things of this world, such as wealth, honor, or life.[3]

Q. 193. Do you really think, then, that the primary place in the list of articles, ought to be given to this one?

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[1] Isa. 64; I Cor. 2; Rev. 2; Jn. 17; Lk. 22; I Thess. 4; Rev. 21; Psm. 17; I Cor. 15; I Jn. 3.

[2] Wisdom of Solomon 5; Isa. 34; Lk. 16; II Thess. 1; Jn. 5; Matt. 13, 8; Mark 9; Rom. 2; Rev. 20; (Isa. 30; II Tim. 1; Matt. 9).

[3] (Heb. 11; Lk. 9).

R. Yes, it ought to have the primary place, but it ought to have the final position in the unfolding sequence of articles, since eternal life is the end of all things, which are offered in the sacred Scripture for our salvation.

THE THIRD PART OF THE CATECHISM:
CONCERNING THE PRAYER OF THE FAITHFUL SONS OF GOD

Q. 194. What else is required in the Christian religion?

R. Rightly executed and incessant prayer, or invocation of the divine name. Since man has been abandoned by all good, he cannot understand divine things, nor indeed believe, nor live in a holy way, unless he continuously expects all things from God and invokes his name.[1]

Q. 195. Since you are speaking about proper prayer, am I to understand that just any kind of prayer before God is not effective?

R. Yes. Just as the Lord set forth eternal salvation to a particular faith, so he also promised to hear only a particular sort of prayer.[2]

Q. 196. What sort of prayer is effective before God?

R. The proper prayer will be one in which something is asked and exhorted from the Father, made in the firm faith and trust that he wishes to answer, and offered in the name of Christ.[3]

Q. 197. You say God the Father ought to be invoked by us; is it not permissible to seek aid from deceased saints?

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[1] I Cor. 2; II Chron. 20. [2] Gal. 5; Jas. 2; Jas. 4.

[3] Psm. 46; Matt. 6; Mark 10; Jas. 1; Jn. 16; (Psm. 49).

R. Christ, our Lord, who himself gave us a prayer, to which alone he promised a hearing, clearly says that only God the Father is to be invoked and adored by us. Whoever does differently composes prayers which have no hope of promise. Then he shackles himself with the guilt of idolatry, by including deceased saints, and thus, creatures, since to God alone is adoration due; for he, indeed, is our Father and God, alone all powerful, and from whom all good is to be expected. Since spoken adoration ought to especially be part of the worship of the Divine, as is evident in the revealed commandments which deal with the adoration of God, no other arrangement is permissible whereby we bestow any adoration at all on saints or any other creatures. Only from God must all consolation and aid be sought by us in our necessity; he alone is to be adored, just as he alone is to be served by us.[1]

Q. 198. What does it mean to compose prayers in the name of Christ?

R. This is as if you should speak according to the command of Christ, praying through him. For the Father grants nothing to us except through Christ, and for his purpose. Thus, only true believers and those who have been actually converted to Christ can pray in Christ's name, and who naturally would never desire or ask anything contrary to the honor of God.[2]

Q. 199. What do Christians desire in their prayers from God?

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[1] Matt. 6; Lk. 11; Isa. 43; Jas. 1; Jn. 3; Psm. 50; Matt. 4.

[2] Heb. 1; Col. 1; Jn. 1; (II Tim. 2; Heb. 2).

R. Only that which the Lord Jesus Christ prescribed for his disciples, and nothing else. For no petition can be approved which does not agree with that prayer, which, in fact, includes all that our soul or body needs.[1]

Q. 200. Recite to me that prayer which the Lord taught his disciples.

R. Our Father, who is in heaven! Hallowed be thy name. Thy kingdom come. Thy will be done on earth as in heaven. Give us today our daily bread. And forgive us our debts, as we also forgive our debtors. And lead us not into temptation. But deliver us from evil. For thine is the kingdom and the power and the glory forever. Amen.

Q. 201. What do you understand from these words, "Our Father, who art in heaven"?

R. This is no prayer, but the Lord's preparing of us for prayer with this invocation. By thus remembering the goodness, power, and incomprehensible glory of God, we might affirm in ourselves the faith, rely firmly on his ready aid, and not clamor, sigh, and long as children for their very dear father.[2]

Q. 202. Why do you say, "Our Father"?

R. With that additional phrase, the Lord, who adopted us as sons through Christ his son along with everyone else, and made us heirs of all his goodness, admonished us of brotherly love toward our neighbor.

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[1] Lk. 11; Matt. 1; [This reference should probably be chapter 10.]

[2] Lk. 11; Matt. 1; [This reference should probably be either chapter 10 or 11, or both.]; Psm. 103; Isa. 63.

Therefore, we ought to acknowledge our neighbors as brothers and as children of one father, and deeply love them, and, for example, continusously petition our Father on their behalf.[1]

Q. 203. What should I understand from the words, "Hallowed be thy name"?

R. This: "O Father, most graciously grant that wherever the correct doctrine and maxim of thy most sacred Gospel may be truly preached, men may receive it with a sincere heart, that the splendor of thy glorious name may fill heaven and earth. May all creatures revere thy power, honor thy eternal wisdom, rely on the truth of thy word, praise thy ineffable goodness, and unite themselves in complete obedience, duty, virtue, and righteousness for the glory of thy name, that thou, O Lord our God, they may recognize, acknowledge, revere, and adore, and that every impiety or offense to thy holy name may become abominable."[2]

Q. 204. What is intended for us in that prayer, "Thy kingdom come"?

R. This: "O Father, destroy in us the rule of Satan, sin, and the world, and guide us by thy holy Spirit, give us complete trust that we may establish ourselves in thy word, that thy kingdom may begin in us, and that one day we may be his heirs, and that from day to day we may sanctify, increase, strengthen, and preserve in the unity of the faith, the gathering of the faithful, until that day, in which, O God, thou wilt be all in all and wilt gloriously appear in your holiness."[1]

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[1] Jn. 1; Eph. 1; Rom. 8; Matt. 23; I Tim. 2.

[2] Eph. 6; Col. 4; II Thess. 3; Dan. 4; Matt. 5; I Peter 2; Psm. 104; Acts 4.

Q. 205. What do these words pray for: "Thy will be done on earth as in heaven"?

R. This: "Heavenly Father! since our flesh, Satan and the world wantonly wish to offend thy name and devastate thy kingdom, we beg, O Father, that you avert such a thing, and grant that all men, in whatever their vocation or ministry, will obey thy will (which alone is holy and good), be anxious to please thee, believe genuinely in thee, and bear with peaceful spirits whatever thy holy will imposes for their salvation."[2]

Q. 206. Why do you add, "on earth as in heaven"?

R. You would seek vainly in heaven for someone who resisted the will of God. However, it is not this way on earth. Therefore, we beseech our God to remove from our midst anyone who would resist his will, and to grant that we all may live on earth as in heaven, with all joy and gladness, according to his divine will; and then, that all things ordered by him for our salvation, but not for our pleasure, may proceed and happen.[3]

Q. 207. What do we mean when we pray, "Give us today our daily bread"?

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[1] Acts 8; I Cor. 1; Phil. 1; Col. 1; I Thess. 1; I Cor. 15.

[2] Gal. ; Rom. 7; Jn. 1; I Jn. 2; Jas. 4; Lk. 22; I Peter 5; Matt. 4; Rom. 7; Titus 3; Jas. 1; I Peter 1.

[3] Lk. 9.

R. This: "We beseech thee, O heavenly Father, to kindly bestow on us, food, nourishment, and clothing for our body, dutiful magistrates, peace, and health, as well as every need of our life, for the glory of thy divine name; and grant that with these, thy gifts, we may show a generous spirit, liberally supporting paupers and beggars, and thus, rightly using thy gifts according to thy will."[1]

Q. 208. What does this mean, "Forgive us our debts as we forgive our debtors"?

R. This: "O heavenly Father! although all our actions are nothing but sin in thy presence, and our debts daily become greater and increase in number, we beseech thee, do not descend on us in judgement, but through Christ, thy son, bestow on us, while we are wretched sinners, thy grace and mercy, even as we gladly forgive for the sake of thy name and gladly favor (according to the affection of the heart) all who might have injured us."[2]

Q. 209. How do we acquire this virtue, that we will forgive our neighbor, who may have seriously offended us, and love him from the heart, and act kindly toward him?

R. We acquire it when we continuously think about and sincerely believe that Christ forgave our sin and died for us, while we were yet sinners; when ever we subjectively clasp within our hearts the love of

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[1] I Tim. 6; II Tim. 2; I Tim. 3; Eph. 4; Lk. 1.

[2] Isa. 64; Psm. 14; Lk. 10; Jn. 15; Heb. 13; Eph. 2, 3; Lk. 6; Matt. 5, 6.

God and of our Savior Jesus Christ, which expels all envy and begets in us love toward our neighbor. Particularly, if we voluntarily acknowledge that whatever evil our neighbor does to us is deserved, and that this is the Lord's way of repaying and punishing us for our sins, and of teaching us patience.[1]

Q. 210. Can he who does not forgive his neighbor's debts obtain God's forgiveness for himself?

R. Not at all. Every one is refused such grace by the Father, who himself has ten thousand debts owing his neighbor and is, thus, a debtor devoid of compassion, not wishing to forgive even a little debt. However, even if we cannot absolutely complete the ideal in all instances, because of hardness of heart, the Lord through Christ, graciously will not impute it to us.[2]

Q. 211. What does this mean, "Lead us not into temptation"?

R. This: "O dearest Father, we beseech thee, that thou wouldst not permit us to fall into sin and shame and perish in them, through the enticements of that deceiving and alluring Satan. Grant us, through thy Spirit, wisdom and strength, that we may strenuously resist that deceptive seducer and obtain the victory. And, as often as we perceive that we are being tested and examined by thy own temptation, succor us, most merciful Father, that we may not deserve thy punishment, and grant that the temptation be of such kind, that we can bear it, so that patience may sanctify us in thee and prepare us for thy kingdom."[1]

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[1] Eph. 5; Col. 3; Jn. 15; I Peter 2; II Sam. 16; I Peter 4.

[2] Matt. 5, 6; Matt. 18; Isa. 53.

Q. 212. What do you understand from these words, "Deliver us from evil"?

R. This: "Save us, O Heavenly Father, and defend us from Satan, and from every evil of the present life of the body, as well as of the spirit, which Satan daily devises in us because of his tyranny, that against the gates of hell we may prevail and enjoy thy happy community in eternity."[2]

Q. 213. What does the addition at the end signify, "For thine is the kingdom and the power and the glory forever. Amen."?

R. That urges us to always complete our prayers in praise to God and to meditate on this in our heart: "O heavenly Father! I have earnestly sought from thee things of great importance, things which very much exceed the strength of men, and I have sought for thy glory and for the benefit of all our spirits and bodies. Thou art the almighty and glorious king in eternity, who easily bestows every good thing on your sons, and art able to subdue and destroy every resisting power; we ask then, that thou free us from every evil power and advance us toward eternal life, for the glory of thy name. Amen."[3]

Q. 214. What does the designation, "Amen," signify?[4]

R. This: "O Heavenly Father! We pray that whatever we have asked may be, and since thou hast promised to grant all things to us, who implore thee with genuine faith in the name of thy son, we believe that it will surely be done by thee. And since, because of human vanity, our faith is not efficacious for this, strengthen it and impart thy holy Spirit to us, that this prayer, 'Our Father,' may be offered to thee in faith, and that we might end all our prayers with 'Amen.'"[1]

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[1] Lk. 22; Eph. 6; I Cor. 10; I Peter 4.

[2] I Peter 5; Job 1, 2. [3] Psm. 103, 50. [4] I Cor. 14.

THE FOURTH PART OF THE CATECHISM:
CONCERNING THE SACRAMENTS

Q. 215. What is next in the Christian religion?

R. The use of the ceremonies known as Sacraments, established by our Lord Jesus Christ for the Church and appointed for continuous use as long as we live.

Q. 216. Why did the Lord institute these Sacramental ceremonies and direct us to use them, under both the old and new covenants?

R. There are three principal reasons why the Lord should have instituted the use of Sacramental signs for the Church and should wish them to be observed, under both the old and new covenants.

Q. 217. What is the first reason?

R. That they might testify to us of his grace, and as an effective sign they might pledge our communion and union with Christ in his Church, and thus, strengthen our faith (which otherwise is frail) by their use, and direct us to think upon heavenly things.[2]

Q. 218. But, ought not the Sacraments be attributed particularly to the Holy Spirit as the author?

R. By all means they are to be completely and entirely attributed to the Holy Spirit as the author. For he interprets Christ to us, and is the infallible witness to all of the teaching and commandments of Christ; he seals in our hearts the communion of Christ; however, he reveals his power in the word and the use of the Sacraments, for the word is added to the Sacraments that the latter may not seem to us, to be empty and fruitless signs.[1]

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[1] Jn. 15; Lk. 17. [2] Rom. 4.

Q. 219. What is the second reason for instituting the Sacraments?

R. That they might continually admonish us throughout life, of our debt and duty, and motivate us to fulfill them.

Q. 220. Why fulfill them?

R. Since, through faith, this persuasion suggests that we are united in communion with Christ the Lord, this duty is also incumbent on us, that we should express the image of Christ in the entirety of life and action, unless we wish to despise the Sacraments and shamefully use them.[2]

Q. 221. What is the third reason for the institution of the Sacraments?

R. That they might be the characteristics of the people of God, under which the entire Church of God, as one body, might gather, and be distinguished from every other sect, if it unanimously observes their use. By these, also, it declares itself to be constant in service and obedience to God (just as if it publicly obliged itself with an oath), and thus, awakens others to the true religion by its example.[1]

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[1] Jn. 16; II Cor. 5; Eph. 1, 4; II Cor. 5; Eph. 1, 4; Rom. 4.

[2] Rom. 11; Eph. 5; Phil. 2; I Peter 2; Matt. 11.

Q. 222. What do you think of those who use the Sacraments shamefully?

R. Since they profane the Lord's covenant, they are an abomination before him. Therefore, they are rejected by the Lord in eternity as if they were perjurers, since it is evident that they do not discard their errors.[2]

Q. 223. Who uses the Sacraments shamefully?

R. He who uses them without faith, love, or obedience to the Lord, which things ought to be expressed and nourished within us by every external use of the Sacraments.

Q. 224. Are the Sacraments necessary for salvation?

R. Since they were instituted by the Lord, and since they have been enjoined upon us to show true obedience, upon the loss of salvation, it is impossible to neglect or despise their use without the loss of salvation; although, the Sacraments, in themselves, are not able to bless us.[3]

Q. 225. Who must be regarded and judged as a despiser of the Sacraments?

R. Whoever neglects their use where it is possible to observe them according to the command of God. Doubtless, he who embraces the Lord Jesus Christ, with a true faith and wishes to offer himself as an easily taught disciple, will not be able, in true faith and piety, to neglect the use of all which the Lord Christ commanded to be observed.

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[1] I Cor. 10. [2] Gen. 17; Ex. 21, 4. [3] Matt. 28; Rom. 4.

Q. 226. How many Sacraments have been ordained and established by Christ in the new testament?

R. It is permissible to enumerate more, but, in fact, there are only two Sacraments: Baptism and the Sacred Supper of our Lord Jesus Christ.

CONCERNING THE SACRAMENT OF BAPTISM

Q. 227. What is baptism?

R. It is the command of Christ our Lord to wash or bathe in water in the name of the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit.[1]

Q. 228. Where is this command of Christ to be found?

R. In the writing of Matthew, the Lord speaks to his disciples in this way: "As you go, teach all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit." Also in the writing of Mark in the sixteenth chapter, "He who has believed and has been baptized, shall be saved, and he who has not believed, shall be condemned."[2]

Q. 229. For what purpose was baptism instituted?

R. That it might be a Sacrament of the divine covenant, for pledging the grace of God and the promise of the Gospel concerning the remission of sins, regeneration, and eternal salvation, which are freely given to us by God through Christ.[3]

Q. 230. How should I understand this?

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[1] Matt. 28; Mark 16; Eph. 5; Acts 8. [2] Matt. 28.

[3] Matt. 28; Acts 2, 9; Titus 3.

R. By our own nature in Adam we are all sons of wrath and eternal death, but through Christ, i. e., having been accepted into his communion, we have been adopted anew as sons of God, and washed of every inward impurity by the blood of Christ, and liberated from all condemnation and from the kingdom of Satan by his death. Now, this is visibly described before our eyes and declared and sealed in everyone of us in baptism, that we might consecrate ourselves.[1]

Q. 231. What is the next reason for the institution of Baptism?

R. That it may continually incite and encourage us to obedience to the commandments of God, so that we may die to sin and increasingly put on our Lord Jesus in newness of life, if we otherwise know that our communion with Christ in valid faith has been sealed for us in baptism.[2]

Q. 232. What is the third reason for the institution of baptism?

R. That it may bring together into one body all who belong to the covenant of the Lord, and to distinguish them and their origin from the Jews, heathen, and sects, and thus, continue in Christ the Lord, in the only true worship of God.[3]

CONCERNING THE BAPTISM OF INFANTS

Q. 233. Who has the right to be baptized?

R. All who have established themselves in the covenant of God and in the teaching of the holy Gospels, which was published by the

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[1] Eph. 2; Rom. 5; Gen. 3; I Cor. 15; Col. 2.

[2] Rom. 6. [3] I Cor. 12.

Apostles. For truly it is fitting that the sign of baptism follows the designated thing (which holds the principal place in these things) as a seal of the promise, as it is shown by examples in the holy Church, from the beginning until now.[1]

Q. 234. May children also be baptized?

R. Without a doubt. Since children, within the Church of God, may also be included in the covenant of God, we follow the decision of all the Apostles of the Christian Church from that time until now, to not prevent them from being baptized, especially since the divine will has been sufficiently and adequately revealed to us in circumcision.[2]

Q. 235. What similarity is there between baptism and circumcision?

R. Baptism and circumcision, instituted by the one God, must be treated alike in their meaning, for they have precisely the same mystery, purpose, and use. They lead us to Christ and admonish us to our duty, and are thus, only one Sacrament. Since circumcision is the will of God in the one Testament, baptism is not able not to be the will of God in the other Testament as well, even though they are administered by different methods and ceremonies. Indeed, the external appearance ought not to be regarded, but attention given to their spirit and meaning.[3]

Q. 236. Why are not little boys alone baptized and on the eighth day, as was done in circumcision?

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[1] Matt. 28; Gen. 17. [2] I Cor. 7; Gal. 3; Mark 10; Gen. 17.

[3] I Cor. 3.

R. The difference of time and persons, inasmuch as they were figures in Christ, now have been ended in Christ, who now is in all time and all things, in whom is neither male nor female, man servant nor maid servant, older or younger, all of whom have been united and purified in Christ, without discrimination, and have been led to eternal life, unless by their unbelief in him they exclude themselves from such grace. Also, we Christians are now no longer bound to the customs of the Jews which observed certain seasons and set apart certain persons, which distinctions now should all be consigned and submitted to love.[1]

Q. 237. How can there be infant baptism, since the use of baptism requires faith and obedience, which are really absent during the age of infancy?

R. Just as it was possible to circumcise infants in the old Testament, whom God did not deem unworthy, even though they were unmindful of faith and obedience (which circumcision required then, no less than baptism now), so we affirm that, the will and grace of God, having been declared to infants under the old covenant, embraces them now, without any change or decrease.[2]

Q. 238. How should I understand this?

R. Whatever may be lacking in children, is shared with them in Christ our Lord, who himself bears their infirmities, for he is the fulfillment of them and of all Christians. He imputes to them by grace his faith and obedience, which are consecrated in the sanctuaries of

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[1] Heb. 10; Col. 2; Gal. 3; Col. 2. [2] Gen. 17.

God, if we confess Christ as their head and Savior, and actually count them as members of the body of Christ.[1]

Q. 239. Can we offer our children as faithful in baptism, with a good conscience?

R. Without a doubt. If, indeed, they are counted as faithful in the judgement of God, through Christ, who, as we have affirmed, supplies every need in himself, then, they must be baptized as faithful, that the office of the Church may show them the testimony that they are members of Christ the Lord. For this is the purpose of the Church of Christ, that the members of the Lord should be separated from the members of the devil, together with their service, for the glory of God.

CONCERNING THE SACRED SUPPER

Q. 240. What is the Supper of our Lord Jesus Christ?

R. It is the custom of Christ which bears witness to and seals the communion of the body and blood of Christ in the hearts of the faithful, as often as we use the bread and cup of Christ in his memory, until he shall return. It was established by his command.

Q. 241. Then it must not be deemed as an empty sign?

R. Not at all. Doubtless, in the supper we receive spiritual food and drink, in themselves comprising the communion of the true body and blood of Christ (according to his peculiar institution); along with the use of the signs, the communion is always immediately present and manifests itself powerfully, so long as it is administered according to his institution.

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[1] Isa. 53; Col. 2; I Cor. 6.

Q. 242. What are the words of the institution of the supper of Christ?

R. Our Lord, on the night in which he was betrayed, took bread, and giving thanks, broke it and said, "Take and eat, this is my body which is surrendered for you." Similarly, the cup also, after he had eaten, saying, "All of you drink from it. This cup is the new testament in my blood, which is poured out for you and for many for the remission of sins; do this, as often as you would drink it, in remembrance of me."

Q. 243. For what purpose has the supper of the Lord been especially instituted?

R. First, that it might represent to us the communion of the true body and blood of Christ, and also all the benefits and gifts provided by his body and blood.

Q. 244. How do you demonstrate this?

R. From the very words of the Supper themselves in which this is clearly perceived where he bade us to eat his body and drink his blood, i.e., by effectual faith to take our food for eternal life from his body and blood, and immediately added, "which is surrendered for you," "which is poured out for you"; by those words he wished to indicate that at the time we participate in his body and blood (since we are, by faith, flesh of his flesh and bone of his bone, he is our head, and we are members of his body), we participate in all the benefits which he has obtained by his sacrifice and the shedding of his blood, namely, reconciliation with God, the remission of sins, righteousness, and eternal life.[1]

Q. 245. For what further reason was the Supper instituted?

R. It reminds and motivates all of us, who together believe ourselves to be the body of Christ, to mutually manifest this unity among ourselves, and in all liberality, gentleness, kindness, patience, and love to feel the same way toward others of a different group, as we know Christ feels toward us; unless we want to receive the supper unworthily, and thus, being disgraced, be harrassed by the event of the body and blood of Christ.[2]

Q. 246. What is the third reason?

R. It is a sacramental sign, separating the true Church of Christ from other impious gatherings, by which, as if with an oath, we are bound to the service and obedience of Christ, and by our example may arouse others to the true religion.

Q. 247. Who has the right to receive the sacred Supper?

R. All faithful Christians, who are sorrowing because of their sin, who, in fact, belong to the body of Christ and live in true obedience and fear of God, and with true love for their neighbor. The right to receive the supper comes also to those who have been willing to preserve, confess, and defend the teaching of the holy Gospel, bearing the cross of affliction and death, in which deed it is shown that they are one with us.

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[1] Jn. 6; Heb. 2; Eph. 5; Eph. 1, 4; I Jn. 2; Rom. 3; Eph. 1; Col. 1; Heb. 1; I Peter 1; I Cor. 1; II Cor. 5; Jn. 6, 8.

[2] I Cor. 10; I Cor. 11.

Q. 248. What do you perceive of those, who never use the Supper of the Church of Christ?

R. I am of the opinion that they are outside the body of Christ, if they, in contempt and hardness of heart, neglect it, since it is evident that they can receive it according to the Lord's command, but, nevertheless, scorn its use. For, as was mentioned above, the teaching is that whoever sincerely believes in the Lord cannot neglect the institution of the Lord, as is clearly seen in the Apostles.

Q. 249. Paul said we ought to examine ourselves and, thus, eat of the bread. How is that examination accomplished, or, more specifically, when does man use the supper unworthily?

R. How very impossible it is for us to ever be worthy of the Supper of the Lord. God, however, by his heavenly gifts, esteems us to be worthy, since we seek the remission of sins and eternal salvation in the death of Christ alone, and so in everything, with the intention of the mind, we submit to his will, lest we are involved in sin against our conscience.[1]

Q. 250. Is it possible to make ourselves unworthy, if we come together to the Supper with unworthy ones?

R. Not at all, since we plainly condemn their sins as being those of the world, and, while these persons are known to us and any permission to them must be allowed by us, we admonish them or else take care to be admonished by them. For the duty of excommunicating others belongs to no one person, but has been given to the power of the entire

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[1] I Cor. 11.

Church. To the Church, this command is also a constant duty, that in these things, just as in all the others, it may discern those that can be improved or corrected, lest it end in destruction, since it was established by the Lord for edification.[1]

THE END OF THE CATECHISM

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[1] I Cor. 5.

CHAPTER IV

THE COMPENDIUM OF DOCTRINE OF THE ONE TRUE CHURCH OF GOD AND CHRIST

A. Introduction

The compendium of Doctrine was written in London sometime before January 7, 1551, the date of a letter of Lasco to Bullinger in which he says, "We are gathering a Church here, and whoever wishes to be counted in it must subscribe through us to our printed confession . . . . Now, some copies of this confession of ours I am sending to you that you may have an understanding of the principles of our doctrine."[1] As Lasco's letter makes clear, the Confession was subscribed to by all who wished to become members of the Strangers' Churches, and for a twofold reason: first, to prohibit heretics from membership and thus prevent deviation from Reformed doctrine; second, to inform the governing authorities that their churches were legitimate, orthodox churches and therefore deserving of existence and even privilege within the realm. Thus, Lasco's words in his dedicatory letter preceding the Confession,

> Indeed, we also, to whom the responsibility of governing this Church has been here committed through your Majesty, shall, through the grace of God, labor diligently lest we should seem to be lacking in our duty in any way; and that we might show in part some evidence of zeal in this, we desired to produce for your Majesty in all piety prior to anything else this Compendium of our Doctrine,

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[1] Kuyper, I, p. lxxvii.

> in which the Apostolic faith is set forth; it is a brief thing indeed, but it embraces all the major principles of our salvation, so that all may understand that no other Church at all is assembled by us through the kindness of your Majesty, than the one of which the Catholic faith of all the Apostles, spoken by the mouth of Peter, publicly professes.[1]

Kuyper's collection reproduces a copy of the original Latin text which is to be found in the Dublin library. It was published in London in 1551 by Stephen Mirdman. The collection also reproduces the 1565 edition of Utenhove's Dutch translation, which edition was published in Emden by Ctematium. A copy of this edition is in the Remonstrants' library in Amsterdam. There were two earlier editions of Utenhove's translation, the first published in London in 1551 by Stephen Mirdman, and the second also in London in 1553, the publisher being unknown. The 1551 edition, which had at the end several of Utenhove's rhymed Psalms for congregational singing (numbers 1, 2, 3, 51, 103, 120, 124, 125, 127, 130), is known to us only from a copying of the title page in the margin of the 1565 edition. Both the ink and style of writing indicate the sixteenth century as copy date, says Kuyper. The 1553 edition is known to us only through Utenhove's Simplex ac Fidelis Narratio wherein he speaks of the "short confession of faith which had been composed in the Dutch tongue in the year 1553 in the name of the Dutch ministers of the London Church . . ."[2] The marginal Scripture references are those of the original editions.

The question of the authorship of the Confession is raised by

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[1] Ibid., II, pp. 289f.

[2] Ibid., p. lxxix.

Kuyper, but he points out that to say more at this point, than that in the doctrines, structure, and content "appears the mind of A'Lasco,"[1] would lead us too far afield. Earlier in his preface he makes the unqualified assertion that Lasco produced the Confession.[2] It must be noted, however, that Lasco leaves some doubt as to his sole authorship when he says in his dedicatory letter, which we have already mentioned, ". . . we [italics mine] desired to produce for your Majesty . . . this Compendium of our Doctrine . . ."[3] Also, in the letter to Bullinger, already cited, he refers to "our confession." Further in a letter to Hardenberg in 1551 he writes of the "Compendium of Doctrine of our Church here, which we [italics mine] here produced and have sent to you."[4] Therefore, the supposition made by Lindeboom that the Confession was probably in outline Lasco's work, but that in detail it was the work of his subordinates, is a valid, but not conclusive argument.[5]

The question probably revolves on the extent to which Lasco is using the editorial "we." Further, being in a position of authority, even though subordinates were entrusted with the details, it can only be said that the Confession accurately represents Lasco's viewpoint. Therefore, the question of authorship is not nearly so serious as it might be in some other context.

The Confession, as such, is not an attempt to embrace the cardinal doctrines of the faith, but rather concentrates its subject matter almost exclusively to the doctrine of the church, which is not surprising in view of the numerous "heretical" movements which were causing such strife and schism. It was necessary to know beyond all doubt the doctrine of the church. Lasco discusses numerous points of doctrine--the meaning of the name "Jesus," of the term "Christ," and of the term "son of God"; the Trinity; Christian duty; the liturgical ceremonies; and the duties of ministers and deacons--but relates each of these to the theme running throughout, the delineation of the true church from false ones.

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[1] *Ibid.*, I, p. lxxviii. [2] *Ibid.*, p. xxi.

[3] *Ibid.*, II, pp. 289f. [4] *Ibid.*, I, p. lxxvii.

[5] J. Lindeboom, *Austin Friars* (The Hague: Martin Nijhoff, 1950), pp. 15-16.

At the end of the Confession is the Form of Public Prayer used by the Church. It is a simple, non-liturgical service which provides for numerous prayers by the minister, the reading of Scripture, the saying of the Decalogue and the singing of Psalms by the congregation, the confession and absolution of sins, the recitation of the Apostles' Creed, and the receiving of alms for the poor.

THE COMPENDIUM OF DOCTRINE

OF THE ONE TRUE CHURCH OF GOD AND CHRIST,

and of its pure confession and faith: in which the church of the Strangers in London has been established, by the authority and consent of his Sacred Majesty the King. It is he whom the Most High God preserves, governs, and prospers (through his grace) with regard to the dignity, honor, and defense of his Church. Amen.

In addition are the common prayers of that same Church.

Matthew 10. "He who receives you, receives me."

Prepared in London in the Establishment of Stephan Mirdman.

1551

(With sole privileges for printing)[1]

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[1] Capitalization throughout will follow as closely as possible the Latin text.]

To the most serene and gracious Prince and Ruler, Lord Edward, the Sixth of his name, King of England, France, and Ireland, defender of the true, Catholic, and Apostolic faith, and supreme Head on earth, under Christ, of the English and Irish Church--the Ministers of the Church of the Strangers, established in London, wish the grace and peace of God the Father through Christ the Lord, our eternal King, Prophet, and Priest. Amen.

All who contemplate somewhat more closely that fated dispersion of the Church within nearly all the Christian world and recall from the word of God the Divine providence, most Blessed King! can easily understand this great blessing of God to exist in it, which blessing in these most troubled times of ours chose other places for them where, as if from some shipwreck, they could recover and, in the mutual confession of the true doctrine and faith of Christ the Lord, assemble themselves again. For in these times when the horrible tyranny of the Roman Antichrist and its power is heard as never before, and all things above and below are mingled in the unnatural omens of sects appearing everywhere, we see true religion very nearly perishing. Doubtless, they experienced that the Lord never failed his own (though things in themselves may seem to be most lamentable), so that the gates of hell themselves did not harm them in any way, and so much the less that any, or even one, hair of their heads were they completely unable to pluck out, unless the Lord perchance wishes to permit anyone these things for the glory of his holy name. Besides, this very seriously commends to us the magnitude of this entire Divine blessing, that we see so many and such remarkable hospitalities attainable for the scattered Churches. And how can we be silent, indeed, if we observe, in the region of this most prosperous Kingdom, the happiness and advantages of the entire group; doubtless, we must know assuredly that this is the great kindness of God, which has marvelously destined his wretched Church from elsewhere into that refuge, in which liberty itself is not only permitted for the true Catholic and Apostolic confession--because it must rightly be held in the highest regard--but along with these things, also great honor; and they even have legally constituted opportunities of the greatest honor. And this exists in your Kingdom, indeed, through the generosity of your most wise Council, but not without the special providence of God, who always raises up his Cyruses and Dariuses, that they may exalt, defend, and honor the suppressed Church of God in captivity in Babylon. He also frequently raises up his Josiahs, who restore the dignity and authority of his Divine law among his people, which had been altogether destroyed, and who renew the religion which had completely fallen into ruins. Thus, certainly the Most High God now seems to have raised you also for his particular service in aiding his Church, O most Blessed King! in this time of its affliction, in order that its wretched membership from elsewhere might have an abode within your realm and be upheld and favored by your influence. Yes indeed! as we ponder that yet youthful age of yours, and those very numerous and great gifts of God, so numerous they absolutely cannot be reckoned without the greatest admiration of all; likewise, as we think of how God shall have intended by his marvelous purpose to advance and establish here the doctrine of his Gospel through this youthful age of yours; and finally, as we consider how God shall have wonderfully removed you thus far from the many dangers aroused against you and your realm by Satan, doubtless from a hatred of Christ and his doctrine--these things of this sort we perceive to be the admirable works of God present with you. Therefore, we think we can say, and not unjustly so, along with those admirers of John the Baptist, "What King will this boy be?"[1] And you again are about to be, not only the restorer of the Church of Christ in this most happy Kingdom of yours, but indeed the most sure propagator of those who are yet elsewhere and are thus far unknown to us, and the restorer of the true religion oppressed for the most part by the Antichrist. Of this we are most certainly persuaded. Why? Because it seems to be indicated in this, since you have not only established the necessary administration of your people in the observance of the true religion, but also the confluence here of all strangers from everywhere, that the purity of the Evangelical doctrine shall not be destroyed everywhere through the contamination of division and infiltration. Surely, true religion, having been preserved here under your auspices in the purity of the doctrine and teaching of Christ, will very exceedingly favor the restoration of true religion in those places in which we now see the Church being dispersed, all the devout cast down, and all sacred things profaned by Antichristian idolatry.

We well know, therefore, the boundless goodness and mercy of

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[1] Lk. 1:66.

God in these works of his toward you, Blessed King!, and to you in the name of Christ's people and, thus, of the entire Church we offer most sincere thanks; and we confess without reservation that it is our debt and duty, that we prove our gratitude toward God for such a great benefit through some excellent testimony of our reformation, and toward you by all true subjection and obedience in our faith.

Further, you could not have resolved in any more Christian, useful, any better or greater way, not only for the preventing of all heresies and sects in your Kingdom, but also for the preserving and more widely propagating the purity of true religion and sound doctrine, than supporting the oversight of all the strangers here, in that you have established for them a special Church of their own according to Apostolic teaching and doctrine. What indeed may be feared of differences in doctrine, what likewise of opinion, where, in the holy assembly of the Church, the minds of all Prophets must be subordinate to those Prophets who are prophecying from the word of God? Again, what is better for a more complete examination of the truth and its preservation from all error, or more useful for preserving a consensus of spirit among everyone, and for a more effectual stimulation of everyone's zeal, piety, and awareness of Divine things than this: whatever one or another earnestly brings forth in the midst of the assembly of the other Prophets and, thus, of the Church itself, the others may examine from the word of God, in Christian love and liberty, in proper order, and in the customary ecclesiastical positions of authority; likewise, the lesser ones for the purpose of affirming may request, peacefully and in their turn, wherein the first and second hold these things which they have just expounded? Truly, in respect to this method, the ancient Church repressed all sects and always from the word of God easily closed the boundaries of all adversaries. Also now, by no other method can all sects more easily be kept from this Kingdom (the greatest part of which will certainly flow here from abroad), as well as the boundary of all adversaries be barricaded, than if this Church of ours, that is, of the Strangers, previously established by you, may keep its lawful advancements, and under your auspices may govern through its ministries according to the Apostolic doctrine and teaching. For what can the sects do, when the minds of Prophets have been subjugated to the other Prophets in that same Church? Or likewise, what can all the adversaries say, if it is done openly before all, that no one at all among all the strangers will be received into our Church, who refuses to publicly ascribe in the assembly of the Church to the Catholic and Apostolic confession concerning Christ the Lord, to that confession, I say, in which Christ the Lord declares his entire Church must be grounded?

Indeed, we also, to whom the responsibility of governing this Church has been here committed through your Majesty, shall, through the grace of God, bestow labor, lest we should seem to be lacking in our duty in any way; and that we might show in part some evidence of zeal in this, we desired to produce for your Majesty in all piety prior to anything else, the Compendium of our Doctrine, in which the Apostolic faith is set forth; it is a brief thing, indeed, but it embraces all the major principles of our salvation, so that all may understand that no other Church at all is assembled by us through the kindness of your Majesty, than the one of which the Catholic faith of all the Apostles, spoken by the mouth of Peter, publicly professes; we declare that we are ministers of it alone in that very same Church of ours, and that we believe all things necessary and important to it, and whatever ought to be taught, performed, and established in the Church. Thus, it will openly and precisely be done with all things, and the adversaries themselves will not in any way be able to deny, that the true Church of Christ was undoubtedly established here by your authority, wherein it may be evident, that it is assembled, governed, and sustained by that sole doctrine of faith and by public confession rather than by anything else, this doctrine which the Lord Christ himself said previously was always to be the sole foundation of his entire Church. Therefore, this compendium of the Apostolic confession we offer to your Majesty the King with the greatest reverence, that toward you and our Church we may affirm our zeal and respect, and at the same time may also resist the deceit of our rivals, if perchance they should wish to vex us at these points before you or your most honorable Senate, or elsewhere or anywhere, either from envy, as it may be, or from suspicions in whatever way. Also, we beseech your Majesty, considering that the flock of Christ, which, having been driven from elsewhere, now seems to assemble in your Kingdom, and, indeed, Christ himself being in afflictions as never before, that you may not permit anyone to vex its members in your presence by the calumnies of evil men; but remember, you are on the throne of your Kingdom here as the sustainer of his

Church, that you may support, promote, and defend it; remember Christ himself is now neglected, hungry, and thirsty in his members, and happy shall they be who now clothe, nourish, and cherish him. Indeed, he must always here be "ἀντιλεγόμενος"[1] Indeed, he comes that he may kindle an unseen fire in the world; he comes that he may blind those who see and enlighten only the blind. And also, since no blind person patiently endures damnation, in our reasoned opinion, much less being made blind, it is not to be wondered at that they hate him and his doctrine and ministry, and always attempt to ravage it in various ways and with the most serious suspicions. But he declares that whoever is not offended by the cross, its sacrifice, and humility will sometime be blessed. So, likewise, in the world conditions are adverse, considering that the world should allow to rule above itself such an incendiary of the entire world and such a blinder of human wisdom. Also, others here--I cite the example of Herod and his followers--declare great danger to the political government to be imminent from Christ, if his doctrine and ministry are fully maintained and preserved in the Church, although they cannot misunderstand that the Kingdom of Christ has almost nothing in common with the political government of the state. Indeed, others make him a violater of the law and a despiser of the ancestral religion of our fathers, but a revealer and restorer in his doctrine and ministry, although he declares that the law is not to be violated by his very doctrine and ministry, but to be more complete and established, and the true worship of God made more evident rather than profaned. Neither are they absent, who on the other hand inauspiciously chirp to us that Jewish song, "If we would have thus permitted him, the Romans would have come, etc." Briefly, anything is pretended, anything is urged for the dishonoring of the doctrine and ministry of Christ in his Church from those who are unwilling to have him rule above themselves. But the end of all such, so we hear, will be utterly horrible in the extreme, namely that, in addition to certain blindness in this life, they shall be brought forward at the end as enemies and adversaries, and in the presence of him, whom they were unwilling to have rule over them, they shall all without exception be finally ruined. This, indeed, remains for all who are unwilling for the Lord Christ to rule over them in his doctrine and ministry, of which, if, in these times of ours, we would truly remember everything as we ought, we would undoubtedly not easily hearken to the voices of such men, nor, may I say, would we imitate them.

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[1] "antilegomenos"--present participle, middle voice, nominative case, singular number--one being spoken against.

And, indeed, the events themselves affirm that the conscientiousness of your Majesty abhors voices and counsels of such kind, through the blessing of God, for whose name we give undying thanks to the Most High God. Doubtless, you understand that you, in your authority, are the excellent governor of the Kingdom of Christ, that you may adorn it by promoting and defending the purity of its Doctrine and teachings by virtue of your authority; however, you may not obstruct or obscure it with human traditions of any kind. Nevertheless, since Satan never rages more than when the Kingdom of Christ is evident (he perceives it to be completely abolished), it is that we implore with incessant prayer the Divine grace, that these gifts, which he has bestowed on your Majesty so greatly and in such abundance, he may deign to increase daily and to impart and award more and more honorable ones at length and in addition. Likewise, it is also our duty that we should reverently admonish your Majesty on behalf of himself, that you should diligently beware of the voices of such Herods, Pharisees, and chief Priests, and should have ready from the word of God that which you can reply to these men. If anyone in your Kingdom thinks any danger is imminent from the Kingdom of Christ, reply, that you trust more in it, of which you understand yourself to be the administrator by your authority, than you ought to fear for yourself from it, if you would perform your duty. And in addition, that at length they perish along with their Kingdoms for the most part, who attempt by their prudence to secure their Kingdoms with Herod and against Christ. Next, if others say that the law of God and the native customs in religion are being violated through the Doctrine of the Gospel of Christ and all things are changed for innovations, reply that the law of God is established by Christ, not abolished, and that it is the truth; that truly all the traditions of men, instituted apart from the word of God, are falsehoods, regardless of the title they may finally be given.[1] It is reasonable, therefore, that the falsehoods, brought in apart from the word of God, may yield to the truth, that the management and care of these things (but not of falsehoods) should have been entrusted to

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[[1] It seems that a'Lasco is making his defense, not only against the various radical Protestant sects, but also against the Anglican traditions which were being urged by the bishops.]

you, the most capable, in that most excellent calling of yours. Finally, if you should hear the inauspicious chirping, "The Romans will come," reply with David, "The Lord is my light in all dangers. The Lord is my salvation, the Lord is the strength of my Kingdom and throne, whom they have greatly feared."[1] With these buttresses from the divine word such voices as this must be driven from before you, Most Blessed King! Help from on high is to be expected, which undoubtedly is not about to be absent from you, if you shall have continued that which you have undertaken.

May the Most High God, the giver, governor, and defender of all Kingdoms, grant to your Majesty his Holy Spirit, which shall save both you and us, and shall direct, govern, and prosper all your considerations for making plain the Kingdom of his beloved Son our Lord Jesus Christ; and finally, it shall give to you its salvation and the peace of your Kingdom. Amen.

The faithful and compliant subjects of your Majesty,
John a'Lasco, Superintendent,
and the remaining ministers of
the Church of the Strangers,
established in London.

[[1] A paraphrase of Psm. 27.]

THE MOST IMPORTANT POINTS OF DOCTRINE OF THE CHURCH OF CHRIST

In the teaching of the compendium of doctrine the expression "Church" must be explained before all else concerning the true Church of God and Christ, that all may understand, what this Church is, into which we ourselves are gathered and of which we openly confess to be ministers. Also, the concept of the Church is derived from "calling out," since God calls out from the great multitude of men in the entire world into his special assembly his special ones along with their offspring, those who are his people and on the other hand of whom he himself is God. For in the Greek, "eccaleo" is the same as "I call," from whence we have in fact deduced the name of the Church.

Therefore, the Church is the assembly of those who, by the voice of God, are called out from the great multitude of men in the entire world, into his own special people.

Because everyone attempts to appropriate and employ this name for themselves, so that everyone contends that his assembly is the true Church (and this one it is absolutely necessary to exactly be), we should not be deceived; this one true Church of God rightly must be diligently discerned from all the others with the pretended title of Church, which all today allege.

There are four observations, therefore, about the true Church of God distinguishing it from all other Churches.

1. First, that it is not called out and gathered by any human but by the voice and authority of God himself.[1]

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[1] Isa. 41 and 55; Hos. 2.

2. Then, since everyone ventures to make God himself the author of his doctrine, it must be guarded against, lest we should hear and seek the voice of God in other places except from his own mouth, through those whom God wished it to be brought to us. Those, indeed, the Spirit distinctly shows us, namely, the Angels, Prophets, and Christ.[1]

3. Third, since we also have impostors as angels, who transform themselves into angels of light, and also many false prophets, this unity of those three, namely of Angels, Prophets, and Christ, shall have to be observed diligently, that we may believe it indeed to be the true voice of God exactly, which should agree with the Doctrines of Christ. To this all the Angels and Prophets give testimony, just as Peter teaches, and, thus, in him are hidden all treasures of the wisdom and knowledge of God. In him is the fullness of all things, from which fullness both Angels and true Prophets take upon themselves everything of their own. Therefore, whoever alleges that their doctrine has the authority of the Angels or Prophets themselves, in whatever way, must be recalled to the Doctrine of Christ lest we may be deceived either by the disguise and superstition of the impostors of angels, or by the hypocrisy of false prophets.[2]

4. Fourth, since Christ teaches that he is heard in the Apostles, that his Holy Spirit also is in them, which has spoken through them, and thereupon would adequately intercede for those who

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[1] Matt. 1, 2; Lk. 1, 2; Psm. 102; Heb. 1.

[2] II Cor. 2; Lk. 1; Acts 3, 10; Col. 2; Col. 1, 2; Jn. 1.

had believed in him through their doctrine, it must be utterly guarded against, lest we may listen or inquire of the voice of God from the mouth of just anyone, except from the Apostles and the Evangelists who were acquainted with them.[1]

And this will be the true Church of God, which he establishes by the voice of God through Angels, Prophets, and Christ the Lord (the governor of all the former, as it were) and his Apostles, those having been called out into one assembly and people peculiar to himself.

Next, the Holy Spirit discloses three marks of this Church, by which it can easily be discerned from other similar Churches: its continuity with antiquity, then its faith, and public profession.

We verily acknowledge the antiquity of the Church of God in the calling of our first parent Adam, whom, after his fall, God called to himself by his voice, since the promise of seed had been given to him, in the strength and merit of which he, along with his seed, would become the people of God;[2] and, though he was subject to death through sin along with his seed, his seed was believing God to be propitious according to that promise to him and to his seed, unless he would have rejected this very great benefit, either he or one of his seed, by intention and by renewed rebellious contempt.[3] Therefore, in Adam himself and in Eve, that true Church of God began, when they, who were called by the voice of God, had believed the Divine promise concerning the future saving seed. And, thus, it has proceeded continuously from Adam himself all the way to the times of Moses without any interruption.[1] Methusaleh, doubtless, was before the death of Adam. Again, before his death, Noah was, who left behind to Shem, his son, the doctrine, faith, and oversight of the Church.[2] He, indeed, touched the times of Abraham, and thus, did not expire from the living before Jacob. Afterwards, with Jacob in Egypt, Kohath descended, who was the son of Levi and who sired Amram, the father of Moses.[3] However, the law, given through Moses, with its ceremonies remained all the way to Christ.[4] And, the administration of Christ the Lord observed through the Apostles has not yet ceased, neither can it cease, but will endure in eternity, until, indeed, the Reign of Christ is the reign of all things secular; neither can it ever be hindered by anyone until the end of time.[5] Nor is the Church of the Lord Christ different now than it previously was under the Patriarchs and Moses, even though we now have the altered symbols and elements of the Divine cultus through Christ. To be sure, the elements and the symbols, the least part of that Divine cultus, have been instituted by Christ, and it is not at all proper that we imagine any difference of Churches because of a change of these things.

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[1] Lk. 1; Jn. 13; Matt. 10; Jn. 17.

[2] Gen. 3; Rom. 5.

[3] Heb. 6, 10.

A changed doctrine and faith alters the Church, which, although it ought to be altered in no way at all, was made more evident through the exhibition of all things in Christ,[1] which were formerly hoped for in the traditional promises; and they held their symbols and elements of this expectation of theirs as types; thus, the change of those things, which were representing the thing which was to come, after the thing itself and the truth in Christ had been shown,[2] did not cause the ancient Church to cease, but illustrated through the newly introduced symbols the same faith and doctrine of the exhibited thing which was earlier hoped for.[3]

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[1] Gen. 5. [2] Gen. 11. [3] Gen. 46; I Chron. 6; Ex. 6.

[4] Ex. 20 [5] Isa. 9; Dan. 7; Lk. 1.

It was therefore continuously the one and same Church of God, which was both expecting the appearance of Christ and was witnessing to this expectation with its symbols and elements in type, and which, now having had Christ exhibited to it, believes in fact, and witnesses to and exercises its faith in the thing exhibited by the symbols and elements. How distant are they from this one true Church of God, who imagine of their Churches some origin or other and its growth from different periods of time, and thus, also rend this eternal unity of the true and single Church of Christ.

This tumbles the wicked Church of the Turks, which places its origin at Mohammed 600 years after Christ.

Nor can the Church of the Pope stand, whose beginning was long after Christ.

Nor that of the Anabaptists, which is more recent in its separation.

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[1] Col. 2. [2] Jn. 1; Heb. 7.

[3] I Cor. 10.

Nor of the Davidists, who place their origin in the last times.[1]

The faith of the Church of Christ we, indeed, know from its public profession of doctrine, which Peter made known in the name of all the Apostles and, thus, of the Church,[2] and which Christ himself clearly attests to be the foundation of his Church. Namely, that he, who was conceived by and born of the mother Mary, is, indeed, Jesus, and likewise, is that Christ, promised by Angelic and Prophetic predictions,[3] whose coming was the expectation of the nations, and is truly the son of the living God. Therefore, whatever assembly, called by the voice of God to that one eternal Church through the doctrine of the Apostles into the same Lord Christ, truly believes and openly confesses this, this assembly is undoubtedly one with his seed, with the Church of God, and all in it are members of the Church of God. And again, where neither the belief of his doctrine, nor its true profession is held, there is certainly no Church of God, regardless of the way their pretended title may be finally thrown about by everyone.

Because, indeed, they are not absent, who would attempt to variously pervert this same confession of Ecclesiastical faith, it

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[[1] A sect founded by Johann Davidus Joris (David George) who was born at Burges in 1500. While a merchant in Delft he adopted Reformation doctrine, but because of his arrogance and radicalism, he was pilloried and had his tongue pierced with a red hot iron and was expelled from the city. He began to receive revelations and visions, formed an Anabaptist, chiliastic, Adamic sect, whose messiah he was, was forced to flee from the Netherlands and removed to Basle under the alias of Johann of Burges. He amassed a considerable fortune and published tracts under the name, Joris. After his death in August of 1556, his identity was discovered, his books and portrait burned, and his survivors forced to do public penance. The sect remained for a century after his death.]

[2] Matt. 16. [3] Gen. 49.

must be augmented by a true exposition of that which we have from the Holy Spirit itself, related in the Gospels and the Apostolic letters; and the three parts of that Ecclesiastical faith are: first, a consideration of the name "Jesus"; second, of "Christ"; and third, of "the son of the living God."

By the name "Jesus" we are taught that he is the true and natural son of Mary, whom she conceived and bore in herself in our flesh according to natural law, except that a most pure virgin conceived him, without any contact with semen, through Divine power, itself operating contrary to the laws of nature. In fact, this limitation with regard to the conceiving of Christ the Holy Spirit shows us in the words of the Angel made known to Mary, when he says, "Behold, you shall conceive and bear a son and you shall call his name Jesus, etc. The Holy Spirit shall come upon you and the power of the most High shall overshadow you."[1] And again elsewhere, "That which has been begotten in her is of the Holy Spirit."[2] Without a doubt, the Holy Spirit causes, by his Divine power, the blood of the virgin mother in her virgin womb of our flesh to unite with the body of Christ, contrary to nature, that since we have communion with flesh and blood, he might participate in the same thing also, clearly in our flesh and blood.[3]

Therefore, they wrongly deny that the function of the true and natural mother of Jesus was performed without contact with any semen, and that Jesus took the origin of his flesh from her, that he may be our brother and could die; this denial being contrary to the manifest doctrine of both the Angel and the Apostle Paul.[1]

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[1] Lk. 1. [2] Matt. 1. [3] Heb. 2.

We are also taught by this same name of Jesus that he, who in this manner was conceived and born of the virgin mother by Divine power, is truly that which is proclaimed, namely, the true and all sufficient savior of the entire world, except where someone would voluntarily despise him and his benefits through an obstinate and absolutely rebellious impiety, and thus, drive him from himself. To this, indeed, all Angels, Prophets, and Apostles unanimously testify.[2] Thus, they, who establish or look for other saviors of some kind or patrons of their salvation, apart from this Jesus, the son of the virgin Mary, or along with him, do not really know the name of Jesus in that Ecclesiastical faith. There is, indeed, no other name under heaven, in which we must be saved.[3]

By this name we reproach the Roman Pope, and likewise, now David George, and also all Teachers of works and merits, as if the one and only Jesus, that son of the virgin Mary, may not be able to suffice for saving us.

Finally, we are taught by that same name "Jesus," this son of the virgin Mary, that he is not only man, but also God. Since, indeed, it attests by the name of Jesus that he is savior, and since no other is or can be savior except God alone, we are taught at the same time that this Jesus is undoubtedly as much God as he is savior of the world.

Truly, by the name of Christ in the confession of the Ecclesiastical faith, we are taught that all these things were in themselves completed in that same Jesus, which things were foreshadowed in the old Church by anointings in type. Formerly, unction principally belonged to Kings, Prophets, and Priests,[1] and foreshadowed all these particular things which were to be in Christ, namely, that the true Christ would at length be the future King, Prophet, and Priest in the Church of God.

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[1] Lk. 1; Heb. 2. [2] Matt. 1; Acts 1; Isa. 53. [3] Acts 4.

By the name of Christ, therefore, we are taught that the Lord Jesus, the very son of Mary the virgin mother, is the true King, Prophet, and Priest of the Church of God. But because many now attempt to arrogate to themselves both Kingship, Prophethood, and Priesthood, the nature of the Kingship, Prophethood, and Priesthood of Christ must be examined. Now there are two perpetual and universal characteristics of the Kingship, Prophethood, and Priesthood of Christ, which in any other title can be eliminated, namely, that his is the supreme, and then that his is the eternal Kingship, Prophethood, and Priesthood.

The Kingship of Jesus Christ the Angels confess to be eternal, where they proclaim that it will never end.[2] They also confess it to be supreme, since they acknowledge themselves to be his ministers.[3] All the Prophets truly witness to this also, when they teach his Kingship to be the Kingship of all the secular world and all other Kings shall be his ministers.[4] But the Apostles teach this much more clearly, when they proclaim all other Kings to be appointed by God to the service and protection of the Kingship of Christ, and attest that Christ the Lord will be always present here with his Church, which is his kingdom, until the consummation of the world.[1] Therefore, just as the Kingship of Christ is supreme and eternal above all things, according to the Angelic, Prophetic, and Apostolic testimonies, so the Lord Jesus under the name of Christ is the supreme and eternal King of the Church of God, with which he is always present, that he may rule and protect it continuously until the consummation of the world. Since, therefore, the Lord Jesus under the title of Christ is the supreme, eternal, and continuous King of the Church of God, all his laws ought to be to us in this life completely eternal and immutable, so that we would observe them constantly and exactly as they are quite above the laws and traditions of all men; nor ought we to listen to those in any way at all, who either expect some kind of other restoration of the Church on earth, which may cause those laws, given us ~~by~~ our Christ, to cease, or who suppose the secular Kingships themselves to be substitutes for his Kingship here, as if his presence was not always immediately present for us, or who may attempt to give by decree to his secular laws equal, or if I may say, greater authority than the laws of Christ. For these deny in this very way that Jesus, the son of the virgin mother Mary, is Christ in their consideration of his supreme and eternal Kingship and in the Church of God, in which he is always present. We ought to separate ourselves, therefore, from all these things, that we may truly believe from the heart, along with the Angels, Prophets, and Apostles, that Jesus was conceived and born from the virgin mother by Divine blessing, and is himself truly the Christ, all of which has bearing on his Kingship here, which is over the Church of God, in which he is always present, as well as being supreme and eternal.

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[1] I Kings 5 [This should read 1, rather than 5]; II Kings 19; Lev. 8.

[2] Lk. 1. [3] Matt. 4.

[4] Ex. 49 [This should probably be Isa. 40, 9]; Ezek. 47.

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[1] Rom. 13; Eph. 1; Col. 2; Matt. 28.

Both the angels, Prophets, and Apostles unanimously commend to us the Prophethood of this Christ (who is the same Jesus), that is, the authority of his doctrine. After repulsing Satan from himself, Angels, in testimony of his true and saving doctrine, came and ministered to him.[1]

Moses proclaims him who is about to come, and testifies that God himself will exact a most serious punishment from those who do not wish to hear him.[2]

Isaiah, likewise: It is said, the Spirit of the Lord shall rest on him, the Spirit of wisdom and intelligence, the Spirit of counsel and strength, the Spirit of the knowledge and fear of the Lord, that we may know that nothing at all is lacking in him, which pertains to the dignity, gifts, and authority of the most high and supreme Prophet and Teacher.[3] But the Apostles commend to us most excellently of all, the doctrine of this Prophet, namely of Christ. They testify that God himself descended from heaven and by his Divine voice commanded that we hear him.[4] They testify that in him are all the hidden treasures of the wisdom and knowledge of God.[5] They testify that all the fullness of all things utterly dwells in him, that we might receive all things from it.[1] They testify from the voice of Christ himself, that heaven and earth shall pass away before his doctrine shall be changed or shall cease.[2] They testify also that that doctrine was given to us in their writings, so that whatever may be absolutely necessary for the correct governing of our life and welfare here and at length for obtaining eternity, the writing may altogether, completely and absolutely, include and comprise.[3]

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[1] Matt. 4. [2] Deut. 18. [3] Isa. 11.

[4] Matt. 17. [5] Col. 2.

And they likewise testify that the doctrine is so clear and evident (with Christ himself affirming this), that it can be easily understood and apprehended by no one other than little children.[4] Therefore, seeing that the doctrine of our Christ is the most absolute, eternal, and complete of all, and also completely and most clearly recorded in the Apostolic writings, surely, then, this Jesus, the son of the virgin mother Mary, under the title of Christ, is the supreme, eternal, all sufficient, and most evident Teacher and Prophet in the Church of God; hence, we ought not know, or may I say, anticipate or inquire about either another doctrine besides his, or likewise any other Teacher and Prophet of our salvation and eternal life; and we must understand that we do not have to hear either any who, coming after Jesus, the son of the virgin Mary, attempt to make of themselves new Teachers and Prophets of our salvation, that they may conceal his doctrine, or who may yet still vainly dream of some new establishment of the Church, which would conceal and abolish the doctrine of Christ, or would either compare or would also give preference to their own doctrine over the doctrine of the Lord Jesus, or would wish to detract from his authority.

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[1] Col. 1; Jn. 1. [2] Matt. 24; Lk. 21; Gen. 22.

[3] II Tim. 3. [4] Matt. 11; I Cor. 1.

The supreme and eternal priesthood of Christ within the Church of God is variously commended to us in the scriptures, not only in the clear and plain testimonies of the scripture, such as the Prophetic and Apostolic testimonies, but also in all the characteristics, functions and splendor of the former priesthood of the type, all of which is most clearly expounded at length by Paul in the epistle to the Hebrews.

Because the Pope and his company attempt to simulate by their priesthood the priesthood of the Lord Jesus, and because also they are not lacking among the sects, who wish to obscure and obliterate it, its characteristics, recorded by the Holy Spirit in the scriptures, must be observed by us, that we may be able to discern it from other priesthoods, and may well know its dignity and eternality.

1. The first characteristic of the priesthood of our Christ is, that it was established by God himself with the addition of an oath, although it is well known that the Aaronic priesthood was established without the obligation of an oath, because in it was the typical and imperfect, and it should therefore cease after the beginning of the priesthood of Christ.[1]

2. The second characteristic of the priesthood of Christ is, that it was established without any ceremony or observance which was

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[1] Psm. 110; Heb. 7.

accomplished through hands, but only by the anointing of the heavenly Holy Spirit.[1]

3. The third characteristic is, that it is ἀπαράβατον[2] that is, that it should not be moved by any succession or by any transference from some to others, but should remain in eternity in the one and same person, namely in that son of the virgin mother Mary, Jesus, and that the Lord Jesus should be in eternity, in his own person and under the title of Christ, the Priest and Pontiff of our souls.[3]

4. The fourth characteristic is, that it should regard his death as the one sacrifice, and this absolutely single and completely sufficient oblation of his, by which all of his are finally and utterly sanctified to eternal life without any repetition of it whatsoever.[4]

5. The fifth characteristic is, that no altar was renewed, since he is from the tribe of Judah, in which no one assists at the altar; nor does he need any trappings of mystical vestments, as he enters the typical Holy Places, which vestments are all abolished by his priesthood according to his exhibited truth, which they foreshadowed.[5]

6. The sixth characteristic is, that it has no other sacrifice for the expiation of sins, for which he is offered, than the particular body and blood of the priest himself.[6]

7. The seventh characteristic is, that the priest himself,

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[1] Lk. 4; Isa. 61. [[2] unchangeable, inviolable.]

[3] Heb. 7; I Peter 2. [4] Heb. 7, 10.

[5] Heb. 7, 9. [6] Heb. 9; I Peter 1.

namely the Lord Jesus, through that one oblation of his, once having entered that true (that is, heavenly) sanctuary, there now, not any longer on earth, performs his priesthood at the right hand of God the father, and causes us to live with him now by faith in the heavens. For if he were on earth, he would not now be high priest.[1]

By these characteristics in the Epistle to the Hebrews, the Holy Spirit distinguishes for us the priesthood of our Lord Jesus from all the remaining priesthoods. And, therefore, it behooves us to be aware of these in our Lord Jesus, the son of the virgin Mary, with respect to the consideration of his priesthood, so that wherever another priesthood with all its characteristics, ranks, and functions maintains its necessity, since it does not have these characteristics in proper measure, we should understand from the Lord Christ and his Church, that from wherever finally requested, it is in vain; also, since we believe the Lord Jesus to be also the Christ in his supreme and eternal priesthood, we should separate ourselves from those, who either create another priesthood in the presence of that one, as if it alone cannot be enough for our salvation, or who are now solely pursuing another method of salvation, or who are vainly thinking of another reformation of the Church of God, as if this supreme, eternal, and all sufficient priesthood of the Lord Jesus neither ought nor can exist.

Now in this, since we are taught in the Ecclesiastical faith that our Lord Jesus, himself the son of the virgin Mary, is not only the Christ but also the son of the living God, we also ought to observe that there have been and are now true Christs, whom God himself by the testimony of his word, either in Kingly, Prophetic, or Pontifical rank, calls his Christs;[1] but aside from this one Lord Jesus, who himself always was the son of the living God, the son of the virgin mother, no other Christ ever was, is, or ever will be such in eternity, in the same particular way that Peter teaches our Christ, the same Jesus, the son of the virgin Mary, to be the son of the living God. Nor is it doubtful that Peter perceived and spoke in the very same way in this Apostolic confession concerning Christ the Lord, that John and the remaining Apostles also spoke and taught.

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[1] Heb. 9, 10; Heb. 8.

Therefore, though all who believe in this same Christ may be called and may in truth be sons of God, nevertheless, since Christ the Lord is the son of God in a very greatly exalted way according to the Prophetic and Apostolic testimony, the characteristics peculiar to the Lord shall have to be observed by us of Christ alone, since he, indeed, is the son of the living God.[2]

However, before we come to a consideration of these characteristics, it must first be said what God is, that we may arrive at a true and saving knowledge of the son of God.

Further, the Heathen certainly have their fictitious Gods and sons of Gods. And the scriptures know of many Gods also, when they say, "I said, 'You are Gods,' and "God stood in the midst of the Gods";[3]

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[1] I Peter 2; Psm. 104. [2] Jn. 1.

[3] Psm. 82, 134 [This should be 135.].

but all of these are called nothing, and neither are they living eternal Gods. And there is one alone, the true, living and eternal God, who is to be praised in the heavens. Amen.[1]

Now, no one certainly perceived this, for no one can perceive this in this life. Neither, then, can anyone perceive in himself by all the powers of his spirit those things which are of God. Hence, completely from ourselves do we vainly imagine all those things concerning the true God and his son.[2]

And further, we ought to ponder whether we would have recognized his son. Therefore, it is necessary that we seek the rationale for the knowledge of God and his son from another place, other than from ourselves, if we would wish to have truly known him for our salvation.

The Holy Spirit, through whom we may chiefly arrive at a true and saving knowledge of the true God, teaches that the Son, who is in the bosom of the Father, has made him known.[3] And Christ the Lord himself says, "No one knew the Father, except the Son and him to whom he wished to reveal him."[4] Wherefore, it is absolutely necessary for us to take heed, lest we may imagine or should wish to know that of God the Father, in excess of that which we have had revealed to us by this son of his. And the marvelous nature of the revelation of Christ is, that it tolerates by its very presence no other inquiry or investigation of God or of all Divine things, but blinds all those (it is marvelous to declare), who, apart from this sole revelation of his concerning God, either wish to have known or think they have known anything; and it reveals nothing at all for salvation to anyone, who does not confess himself to be completely blind apart from him together with an imploring of his grace. Likewise, concerning his very words, he testifies to them when he says, "For judgement I came into this world, that those who do not see may see, and those who see may be blind."[1] Therefore, through him, our Lord Jesus Christ, the Son of the living God, we should desire to be enlightened in the true and saving knowledge of God; and we ought not inquire, know, or think about anything at all pertaining to God and his mysteries, apart from the revelation of the Doctrine of Christ, given us in the Apostolic writings.

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[1] Deut. 6; Mark 12.

[2] Ex. 33; Jn. 1; I Tim. 6; Rom. 11; I Cor. 2.

[3] Jn. 1. [4] Matt. 11.

Next, Christ teaches that God is Spirit; therefore, we believe him to be Spirit.[2] Then the Scriptures augment for us the characteristics of God, in which we also believe because of Christ; namely, that God is eternal, omnipotent, all good, all sufficient, omniscient, the creator, sustainer, and governor of all things in heaven and on earth.[3] Beyond being Lord, he is equally judge and savior of all Angels and men, whom he created, sustains, judges, and saves for the glory of his holy name.[4]

Indeed, we are taught by Christ the Lord through his Apostles that this God in his Divine existence is only one, and we also see that plurality is constituted as part of the unity of his Divine existence.

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[1] Jn. 9. [2] Jn. 4.

[3] Rom. 16; Ex. 15; Ex. 33; Gen. 17; Jer. 32; Isa. 42; Jer. 16.

[4] Isa. 33; Isa. 42.

The Apostle confesses the Divine unity when he teaches that God is one, to which all the Prophets and the entire scriptures also testify.[1] They, indeed, establish plurality in this one Unity, when that which they confess to be the characteristic of that oneness with respect to God, they then teach to pertain to plurality, although they nevertheless testify that that one God bestows his glory (clearly the characteristic of singularity in himself) to no one else beyond himself.[2] Indeed, even if God is solely one according to his Divine existence, nevertheless, since he may grant his glory to no one apart from himself, and we are nonetheless taught by the testimony of the scripture that it equally pertains to plurality--we rightly perceive in ourselves by the authority of the scripture that plurality is established in the one and same existence of Divinity, which thing may far surpass all the understanding of our nature, but which is nevertheless true, for beyond this we yet have the clear testimonies in the scriptures concerning it.

However, his plurality in Divine unity is very clearly explained to us by Christ the Lord, who alone on earth knew that, and is also a part of it, when he bids us to be baptized in the name of God the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit.[3] When we are baptized into the society and covenant of that one, eternal, and living God through our gracious adoption in the son of God, we are also commanded to be baptized equally in the name of the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit. Rightly, we are then clearly taught and we also undoubtedly believe that within that one and same unity of the one, true, and living God are Father,

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[1] Gal. 3; Eph. 4. [2] Isa. 42, 48. [3] Matt. 28.

Son and Holy Spirit, so that we all know, believe, and confess, according to the teaching of Christ the Lord, a Divine triad within the unity of the one Divine existence, if the opinion of our reason is brought into submission to him.

But it is all the same if we are bidden to be baptized in the name of God the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit, or in him as God, the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit, since the scripture testifies in another place that it is the same; or if we are told to be baptized in the name of Jesus Christ or in Jesus Christ himself, it also clearly teaches that it is the same as to be baptized into the true and saving communion of those things which are Christ's, namely into the communion of his death and resurrection;[1] this is in order that here also, when we are baptized according to the institution of Christ, whether in the name of God the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit or into him as God the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit, we may understand ourselves to be baptized into the adoptive, freely bestowed community of all these things which are of God the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit.

Next, it is clear that they are deceived, who attempt to construct in the unity of the Divine triad only the names but not distinct persons, since we are commanded to be baptized in the name of God the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit, but not in God himself, who is three in one; although it is the same if we are baptized in the name of God, or in God himself as Father, Son, and Holy Spirit. Next, we are clearly taught in the very baptism of Christ the Lord, that that triad in

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[1] Rom. 6.

Divine unity is discerned not only in the names but, indeed, in the very hypostasis or substance.[1] We call them persons according to the accepted custom in the Church. For the Father is heard from heaven, the Son is made known on earth by the Father, the Holy Spirit in the form of a dove descends upon the son. Doubtless, by this wonderful spectacle God wished to disclose to us even through the testimony of our senses the utterly ineffable mystery of the revered Triad in his Divine Unity, hidden from the entire world. And truly, since we are baptized equally into the communion of all three persons, they must agree equally in all further points in the communion of which we are baptized.

Therefore, this second person in the Divine triad, namely God the son, having assumed our flesh, has become man[2] and has been called Jesus according to the Angelic oracle, as has been said.[3] And he is now, in the one and same person, both man and God equally, Jesus Christ, Son of the living God.

And that we may know this Lord Jesus Christ of ours to be undoubtedly in his hypostasis or person truly God, the Son of God the Father, of the same nature and dignity with him, the Scripture clearly gives to him that which clearly belongs to that one, true, and eternal God alone.

1. The name peculiar to God alone, Jehovah.[4]

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[1] Matt. 3. [2] Rom. 8.

[3] Matt. 1. [4] Ex. 6; Deut. 4.

2. The same name in Greek, ὁ ὤν ἐπὶ πάντων Θεὸς.[1]

3. That he is the special and only begotten son of God the father.[2]

4. That he is in the bosom of the father himself and came forth from him.[3]

5. That he is eternal, and through him all things were made, as well as the very ages.[4]

6. and 7. That he is called by Stephen and the others, as he is spoken of by Thomas, Lord and God.[5]

8. That he remits sins by his own word, which privilege belongs to God alone.[6]

9. That he has in himself life and gives it through himself not only to those who believe in God but who also believe in him.[7]

10. That he is true, just as is the Father, for all men are false.[8]

11. That he was raised from his death, for he is the truth, resurrection, and the life of all men.[9]

12. That he gives the Holy Spirit to whom and as he wishes.[10]

Since all these special characteristics belong to God alone and are equally granted to Christ the Lord, it is certain that he is true God of true God, the son of the living God. Indeed, the scripture is not mistaken about these special characteristics which are of God, neither does it teach at all that these things are to be granted to any creature apart from the Divine Unity.[1]

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[1] Isa. 4; Jer. 23. ["He is God over all things."]

[2] Zach. 3; Rom. 9. [3] Jn. 1. [4] Jn. 1; Micah 5.

[5] Acts 7, 9; Jn. 20. [6] Mark 2. [7] Jn. 5, 6, 10, 11, 14.

[8] Psm. 116. [9] Psm. 3; Jn. 11. [10] Jn. 14, 15, 16.

Therefore, the true Church of God (since it holds to the following distinguishing mark of itself) is the assembly of men and their offspring, who, having been called by the voice of God, believe Jesus Christ to truly be that son of the Virgin Mary, the son of the living God, God proceeding from God from eternity, and man from man conceived and born by Divine power in the virgin mother without any blemish,[2] so that he could die for us in our flesh and atone for every impurity of our conception and birth; next, who believe him to have died and been buried and to have risen for our justification,[3] because of which we shall rise again in our bodies through the power, blessing, and example of his resurrection;[4] finally, who believe him to have ascended to heaven, so that there he might obtain for us a hearing, and to be sitting in our flesh at the right hand of his Father as truly Jesus Christ, our only savior and mediator, and thus, the only King, Prophet, and High Priest of our souls,[5] and there to anticipate the time of the restoration of all things (since his Holy Spirit was meanwhile given us), that he might return again to judge the living and the dead, just as the Scripture teaches.[6]

Now, those who truly believe cannot act as if they did not profess that which they believe. For, indeed, the true faith is apparent in itself and is not able to be concealed. In like manner, the Church which truly believes these things cannot act as if it did not believe that which it professes to believe in its own confession of faith. It is, therefore, the third characteristic of the true Church of God that it does believe that which it confesses for the glory of God.

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[1] Isa. 42, 48. [2] Lk. 1. [3] Rom. 4; I Cor. 6. [4] Jn. 11.

[5] Acts 1; Jn. 14; Eph. 1; Heb. 7, 10; I Tim. 2.

[6] Acts 3; Acts 1; I Thess. 4, 5.

However, there is a two-fold profession in the Church, the one private, the other public. The private one, which, in a private way, pertains only to the individual member of the entire Church, who has the use of reason, is the same as the confession of faith itself. It does not pertain however, if, by that infirmity belonging to our nature, we are excluded. This includes such things as our infants or ones deaf or mute by nature, and those who by nature are wanting in the soundness of mind. Further, each one and everyone in the Church who has any use of reason at all ought to profess without a doubt, in so far as they are able, whether at home with their parents or whoever they have in place of parents, or whether abroad, that Jesus is truly that son of the Virgin Mary who completely saves us, and is also the Christ, who alone is above all things and is the eternal King, Prophet, and High Priest of us all.

They ought also to confess that he is the Son of the living God, namely God from the true and living God, begotten from eternity.

The public profession is certainly that which becomes publicly known of the ministers of the Church or the people together with the unanimous testimony of both of them.

Each of these professions is made, either by mouth or by the observing of ceremonies or by the zeal and concern of everyone in the mutual performance of obligatory tasks, as the calling within the Church requires it.

The public profession of the mouth pertains to the total gathering of the people, as well as the ministers within the Church, so that any suspicion of false doctrine may be removed.[1] Indeed, with the mouth is confession made for salvation. The private confession is that of the individual members of the entire Church, who have any use of reason, that that which they believe, either at home with their parents or when they are elsewhere, as it may require, they can confess on this basis: "I believe, therefore, I speak."[2]

The public profession of the ceremonies takes place in the gathering of the public along with the assembly of the entire Church when the pure ceremonies established by Christ the Lord are faithfully and religiously observed. The private one takes place whenever, in the privacy of anyone's home, any of the brethren, without superstition or allegation, should sometimes desire a sign of our salvation, and it is performed, since no public assembly of the entire Church is expected.

However, each of these professions of ceremonies pertains completely to the entire Church and to each and every member of it, whenever it can be observed; except to those who may be excluded from it, either because they belong to us with an infirmity of nature, as has been said, such as infants at the Supper of the Lord, or because of the type of ceremony such as women excluded from the practise of circumcision, or because of a concern for his mysteries such as excluding known impious persons. Likewise, just as whatever is believed by the heart ought to be confessed with the mouth by all who are able at all, even so, since the ceremonies instituted by Christ the Lord in his Church are as some visible word, we all ought by all means to confess our faith within the entire Church and to all its members, since it is lawful to do so, unless it is not permissible to us in clear words, either because it pertains to the infirmity of our nature, or to the certain special significance of the mysteries, or to the custom itself.

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[1] Rom. 10. [2] Psm. 116:10.

Therefore, here we reproach all those who attempt to keep those in the Church from the profession of the ceremonies, those who are not excluded either by natural hindrance, or by any significance of the mysteries, nor by any words of institution; we reproach those who divide the unity of the Church by that name which is in themselves, which we see becoming evident in the use of baptism by the Anabaptists, concerning which we shall say more later on.

There are, however, ceremonies instituted by Christ the Lord in his Church with respect to the most important public ministry of the word and mysterious signs, which we call Sacraments. In the lawful, appointed observance of these therefore, is the profession of ceremonies of which we speak, about which also more will be said in the proper place, where we will discuss the use and form of the sacraments.

In addition, the private profession, which consists of the necessary performance of duties, pertains to the entire Church and to each and every member having the use of reason in the same way as the profession of the mouth and ceremonies. Since we all, whoever are in the Church, believe ourselves to be members of one body, we do understand that our faith urges this, that among ourselves we do not neglect the mutual provoking to all of the duties. Indeed, neither can one member say to another member, particularly in one and the same body and above all in the body of Christ, "I have no need of you", just as Paul teaches.[1] On the other hand, the public profession of faith in the necessary performance of duties consists of those duties which principally either the public ministers of the Church ought to perform for the people, or which all the people together with the minister ought to publicly perform.

Also, with respect to their ministers, it is the public duty of the people to reverently acknowledge in them a certain representation of God, and to joyfully and spontaneously obey them as if God was moving through them, unless that which they desire is known to oppose the word of God. Indeed, we all ought to remember the Apostolic regulation, "It is necessary to obey God rather than men."

Truly, the duties of the ministers of the Church are varied, just as are the ministries themselves. However, there are three principal public ministries in the Church of Christ: that of the Word, that of the sword, that of food for the poor. And whoever are engaged in these ministries have their certain and particular duties which do not pertain to the others, in the performance of which they also ought to confess their faith in the Church, along with those private duties which pertain to the entire Church, that they may affirm that they believe Jesus, the son of the virgin mother, to be, under the title of Christ, the supreme and eternal King, of whose law and ordinance they are ministers and custodians.

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[1] I Cor. 12.

Therefore, the profession of the ministers of the word consists in the obligation of performing these duties:

1. That they teach faithfully, diligently, and publicly the pure word of God.[1]

2. That they administer publicly, purely, and diligently, according to his ordinance in the Church the ceremonies instituted by the Lord and rebuke from the word of God their violators.[2]

3. That they care for the Church, along with its presbyters, in its growth and edification, through admonition, consolation, rebuke, and the use of Ecclesiastical discipline according to the word of God.[3]

4. That they obstruct the mouths of adversaries by the authority of the divine word and not permit their flocks to be torn, plundered, and devoured by wolves and injurious beasts, but to forewarn the Church of these if they cannot be recalled to the right way through the Scripture.[4]

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[1] I Tim. 1, 2. [2] I Cor. 11. [3] II Tim. 4; I Cor. 5.

[4] II Tim. 3; II Tim. 1.

5. That they preside over the government of the Church, that it may preserve the Divine, not through the rule of the clergy, but by being an example to the flock, having been set apart for this by the Holy Spirit.[1]

This special profession pertains to the ministers of the sword in the Church, according to their positions:[2]

1. That they promote, honor, defend, and sustain in the Church the ministry of the word and its legitimate ministers; that they not tolerate in the Church wolves and false teachers.

2. That they punish, according to the use of the sword entrusted to them, public disobedience and impiety of the Divine law and doctrine.[3]

3. That they supervise in the entire Church the institutions of Christ the Lord, that they may be observed purely, faithfully, and reverently, and that they punish those who either heedlessly neglect, defile, or attempt to abolish them.

4. That they restore by public law whatever belongs to each one, and defend and sustain public honesty for the edification of the Church.[4]

5. That they defend and care for the public peace of the Church, which has been united with piety.[5]

The profession of deacons is in the industrious gathering of alms and the faithful dispensing of them.

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[1] I Peter 5. [2] Isa. 49; II Chron. 19. [3] Rom. 13.

[4] Isa. 56; Jer. 6. [5] I Tim. 2.

As far as it pertains to these three characteristics of the true Church, this will be the true Church of God in which each and every one who has the use of understanding may privately profess that Apostolic faith and its principles, each one for himself by the mouth, by the observance of ceremonies instituted by Christ, and by charitable duties to the best of their ability; in which also the public and lawful ministers of the word, of the sword, and of food, as has been said, shall correctly perform their duty, and the people of the Church together publicly and with unanimous testimony may proclaim their desire to obey from the heart in all things; and they are reminded of this either by the ministers of the word from the word of God, or by Magistrates maintaining and defending the peace, edification, order, and decorum of the Church, or by the Deacons caring for the burdens of the poor.

Now, with all the characteristics of the true Catholic and Apostolic Church of Christ gathered together so that we may determine a complete definition of it:

The Church of Christ is the assembly of those men along with their offspring who were called and are yet to be called from the remaining multitude of men in the entire earth. They have been called from our first parent Adam and will so continue to be called by the voice of God, delivered through Angels, Prophets, Christ, and his Apostles, until the consummation of the world. They believe and profess either publicly or privately, by mouth, by the observance of ceremonies instituted by Christ, and by the performance of duties as each calling requires, that Jesus is truly the son of that Virgin Mary, that is man from man, namely from the virgin mother; that he was conceived and born by the action of the Holy Spirit as our brother in the flesh and, thus, was precisely able to die in our place for our sins, and to be now in the society of our flesh the all sufficient savior of the entire world; that he is also equally God, and that none is savior except God himself. Next, they believe and also profess that this Jesus is that true Christ who was continuously foretold by Angels and Prophetic teachers from the beginning of the world itself; that he is that one, supreme and eternal King, Prophet, and High Priest for the entire world, who shall have dispelled and utterly abolished all types of carnal law by the light of his advent. Finally, they believe and profess that same Jesus Christ to be the true, natural, and only begotten son of God the Father, begotten from God the Father himself in the same existence of his Divinity, just as the man consented to be conceived and born from man, namely from the virgin mother, that he might be man and atone for the sin of the entire world; he is to be praised along with the Father and Holy Spirit, the one true God in heaven. Amen.

Therefore, of this doctrine and faith and of the things, which pertain to them, and also of this Church, which accepts, professes, and follows them, we know ourselves to be ministers. We assemble this, and by it we separate ourselves from all the sects and especially from the Antichristian idolatry of the Roman Pope.

Further, this compendium of doctrine we wish to publish in this way from the beginning, so that all who will wish to join themselves to our Church may be sure that they are gathered and called through us, and not by any human doctrine at all, but by the voice of God himself, declared to us through Angels, Prophets, and Apostles, for a true knowledge of God and Christ and also for eternal life.

However, we will briefly add those things which seem to pertain to the observance of the institutions or ceremonies of Christ the Lord in his Church; those things which pertain to the discharge of the duties of the ministers toward the people, and on the other hand, of the people toward the ministers, and of their care through discipline.

The Form of Public Prayers which are held in the assemblies in the Churches of the Strangers.

First of all the Minister encourages the Church to pray with these or similar words.

"Christian brothers, since we have been gathered here that we may learn the word of God for the salvation of our souls, and that I may bear to you nothing but the pure Doctrine of the Divine word, and that you should hear it as the great opportunity for your salvation, we implore the Divine grace above all."

The Prayer before the Sermon.

"Heavenly Father! whose law is perfect, converting the soul, whose testimony is true, providing wisdom for the simple and enlightenment for the eyes![1] we humbly beseech thee, that in thy infinite mercy you may deign to illuminate our dark minds by thy Holy Spirit, by which we may rightly understand the law and diligently express that understanding in deeds. And since it seemed proper to thee, Father! that thou wouldst only reveal the mysteries of thy will to children, and wouldst have regard for him who is quite humble and broken in spirit and who trembles with a certain reverence for thy word,[2]--grant us a humble spirit, and mayest thou deign to remove all the carnal wisdom of the flesh, which is hostile to thee,[3] and when from the path of truth we wander, recall us in the right path, that we all may abide with Thee in holiness and justice during all the days of our life. We ask these things of thee, most indulgent Father! in that prayer which thy son, our Lord and Savior Jesus Christ gave to us,[1] in this manner: 'Our Father, who are in heaven, Thy name be hallowed, Thy Kingdom come, Thy will be done on earth as in heaven, Give us today our daily bread, And forgive us our debts, as we also forgive our debtors, And lead us not into temptation, But deliver us from evil, for thine is the kingdom and the power and the glory forever. Amen.'"

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[1] Psm. 19. [2] Matt. 11; Psm. 66. [3] Rom. 8.

Then some Psalm should be seriously recited by the entire assembly in the common language. When this is concluded, the Preacher continues from this passage of scripture until he finally pauses.

The Prayer after the sermon

"Most merciful Father! because Jesus Christ thy Son taught that those are happy who not only hear thy word but observe it (however, we are not able to observe it unless it was first inscribed on our heart by the Spirit), we beseech thee from the heart that thou shouldst keep Satan from us, lest he snatch from us the word we have heard; mayest thou remove also our stone heart, lest its sprouting fruit may dry up, and mayest thou remove the cares and anxieties of this world which are strangling thy word; however, mayest thou make for us a good land, that in it the planted word may bring forth much fruit for the glory of thy name; through the same Jesus Christ thy Son, our Lord. Amen."

Now whatever things follow, with the exception of the common prayer for the necessities of the Church, they recite as on the day of the Lord in the assembly before noon.

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[1] Matt. 6.

The Decalogue from Exodus, chapter 20.

For which hearing the people are aroused by these words:

"Hear the Law of the Lord:
I am the Lord thy God, who led you out from the land of Egypt, from the house of servitude. You shall have no other Gods before me."

Then shall be the public confession of sins introduced by a Minister of the word.

"We saw in this Divine law, as in a mirror, how greatly and in how many various ways we have offended God by our transgressions, and thus, we should humbly and unanimously request from him forgiveness for these and for all sin, in this way:"

"Eternal God and our most merciful Father! we humbly prostrate ourselves before thy Divine Majesty, against which we have gravely sinned; we confess openly and without hypocrisy that we are not even worthy to be called thy sons.[1] Besides, since we were conceived and born in sin and are unsuitable for all good, we are inclined toward evil and have violated thy commandments in many ways;[2] we are not worshipping thee according to thy grandeur, and are not loving our neighbors as thou hast commanded us, because of which, we confess, before the exacting rigor of thy justice, that we are prisoners of eternal damnation and have been estranged from ourselves, unless that justice might at length be overcome by thy inexhaustible mercy; to all who repent, who are even yet afar off, thou art wont to appear merciful and kind,[1] and that not because of any worth of ours, but because of Jesus Christ, thy beloved son. Having been turned about by his merit, thou dost no longer desire to remember our sins, but by pardoning them, having been converted, thou shalt receive us in kindness to thyself through true penitence of the heart, since thou art he who does not wish the death of the sinner, but that he be converted and live.[2] We then have been accepted into thy grace in this way by thy holy Spirit; lest we should offend thee hereafter, mercifully deign to grant and to create a new heart of flesh in us, the stone one having been removed; mayest thou inscribe on it thy law which we may hereafter express in deeds throughout our entire life, as sons of light walking in newness of life,[3] for the glory of thyself and thy son and for the edification of his Church, through the same Jesus Christ, thy son. Amen."

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[1] Lk. 15.

[2] Psm. 50 [This should probably read Psm. 51]; Gen. 6, 8.

The form of absolution.

This, the minister briefly and clearly relates in these or in similar words:

"After it thus seemed to the eternal God, that he would forgive the sins of those who truly repent and confess, but that he would be unwilling to remit the sins of those who obstinately conceal or excuse in impiety, we ought to acknowledge our sins from the heart.[1]

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[1] Lk. 15.

[2] Ezek. 18; Psm. 50 [This should probably read Psm. 51]; Ezek. 11; Jer. 31.

[3] Eph. 5.

"Therefore, as many of you are of such kind that Christ may shame and cause to repent of their sins, and who further firmly believe themselves to be completely pardoned of them all by the merits of Christ alone, and then are persuaded to mortify their earthly members and to pursue heavenly things,--these, because they believe in the Son of the living God, I declare from the word of God, their sins to have been remitted in heaven through the name of our Lord Jesus Christ blessed in eternity. Amen.[2]

"As many as now delight in their sins, and are unwilling to confess them or to improve,--or if they do acknowledge them, but seek another method of salvation than the sole merit of the benefit of Christ the Lord,--to all of these, because they love the darkness rather than the light, not believing in the name of the only begotten Son of God, I declare from the word of God, that they have been bound in heaven to all their sins and shall not be loosened until they shall come to themselves.[3]

"That we may prove, from the body of those, just who are aliens, let us openly, publicly, and from the heart confess the chief items of our faith, in this way:

"I believe in God the Father almighty, creator of heaven and earth. And in Jesus Christ his only son our Lord. Who was conceived of the Holy Spirit, was born from the virgin Mary. Who suffered under

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[1] Ezek. 18. [2] Matt. 18; Jn. 20. [3] Jn. 3.

Pontius Pilate, was crucified, died, and was buried. He descended into hell, the Third Day he rose from the dead. He ascended into heaven, and is seated at the right hand of God the Father almighty. From whence he shall come to judge the living and the dead. I believe in the Holy Spirit, The Holy Catholic Church, The communion of Saints, the remission of sins, The resurrection of the body, And life everlasting. Amen."

A prayer for the needs of the Church follows this absolution:

"Almighty, Heavenly and Merciful Father! after thou hast deigned, because of thy infinite mercy, to liberate us from the bonds of ignorance and Roman idolatry, through the mysteries of the Gospel of thy son revealed to us among others, in whose name we have thy boundless mercy--we humbly beseech thee, that by the grace of thy Spirit thou wilt deign to strengthen us, so that the Christian faith may be retained by us and constantly expressed in piousness until the end of our life.

"Further, we beseech thee, that our most Clement Head and King, Edward the Sixth, ruling by thy arm, by which thou hast thus far defended him from both his and thy enemies, mayest thou deign to constantly defend and to enlighten his mind by thy Spirit, that he may rule (since his age was much augmented by thy grace) his people under Christ the King of Kings and according to thy word,[1] and that we may live a peaceful and quiet life in all piety and honesty for the increase of the Kingdom of thy Son.

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[1] I Tim. 2.

"Next, we beseech thee for the very family of our Lord the King and the remainder of the princes and Magistrates of his Kingdom and particularly for the most sagacious Senate of the King, governed by the wisdom and preserved in the true doctrine of thy Son and in mutual harmony of heart in the Lord.

"Also, we beseech thee for the entire people of this Kingdom; grant, through thy Spirit, that they may joyfully embrace the voices of thy Prophets, and that obedience may persist in their obligation to the Magistrate for the soundness of this kingdom and the edification of thy Church.

"Moreover, we beseech thee that thou wouldst defend against all enemies the other Leaders, Citizens, and Magistrates outside this Kingdom, who love and profess thy word, that they may quietly govern their subjects with a true understanding of thy word.

"We further beseech thee, O Most Merciful Father, for the preservation of the Churches of this Kingdom, as well as all of the others scattered throughout the entire world, in which the Doctrine of thy Son is being proclaimed, cleansed of the blasphemies of the Roman antichrist. Shelter them from those false pastors and hirelings, who would consume and trample thy beloved kin, and send into them the zealous, working, and faithful stewards of thy mysteries, who seek not their own, but thy glory.

"But especially, attend and preserve with thy favor this Church of thine, now recently formed through thy infinite mercy and power, for which kindness we have the very greatest thanks for thee, that it may daily advance in all piety, for the glory of thy name and the edification of all men.

"Thy Churches having been torn asunder throughout the world by the Antichrist, mayest thou especially deign to defend its name and growth from its tyranny.

"We also pray for all Churches, Kings, Leaders, and Magistrates, who are not yet able to follow the voice of thy Son Jesus Christ, having been made blind by Roman idolatries, and thus far through ignorance continue to follow them, that thou mayest lead them and others, who in whatever way were led aside and art ignorant, to the light and the true path, that we all can be in one sheepfold under the one pastor of our souls Jesus Christ, for the glory of thy name.[1]

"Finally, we beseech thee, most Excellent Father! for all our brothers whom thou hast afflicted by thy Spirit as thou hast been wont, because of the confession of thy name through the Antichrist; and thou shalt strengthen them in the faith with power from on high that they may perpetually and fearlessly confess thy name and that of thy Son before men.[2] Likewise, may you deign to revive, by thy righteous judgement, those harassed by sickness, poverty, exile, or any other calamity of body or soul, and at the same time teach them through their castigations that they may know themselves to be truly loved by thee, and may at last be converted.[3]

"We are assured that all of these things are certainly about to happen, because of thy fatherly goodness toward us, thy sons, which goodness we invoke in the prayer prescribed for us by thy son, our Lord, praying through him in this way: 'Our Father, etc.'"

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[1] Jn. 10; I Peter 2. [2] Lk. 24. [3] Prov. 3.

After having finished this prayer, another Psalm is to be sung by the entire assembly with great seriousness in the common tongue. Finally with these words the Church is dismissed.

"Remember the needy, pray for one another; may God be merciful to you and bless you, may the light of his countenance shine upon you. Amen. Go in peace."

Finally, because no one ought to come before God empty, and because the particular command of God and Christ is evident concerning the care and sustaining of the poor, Alms should be diligently gathered by the deacons of the Church in a separate assembly at the doors of the sanctuary.

Telos

CHAPTER V

LASCO'S THEOLOGY AND HIS INFLUENCE IN ENGLAND

A. The Background of Nominalism

It has been observed that William Occam (d. 1349) was the first Protestant. This is quite understandable when one realizes that Nominalism seemed to adapt to Protestant theology quite as easily as Platonism did to early Christian thought, and as Aristotle to late Medieval thought. (It would probably be more accurate to say that the Reformers were Nominalists before they became Protestants.) Occam and his philosophy of Nominalism were a protest against the metaphysics of Plato and Aristotle, but not a protest that was made by advancing a third metaphysical position in competition with these other two, but rather a protest that undermined metaphysics completely (witness contemporary Positivism, the end result of six centuries of following the Nominalist road) upon logical and epistemological bases.

The metaphysical realism of Plato and Aristotle had distinguished between universals and the physical world as we empirically know it. Platonic universals were the real, the essential, the substantial, which existed in the mind of the Absolute, and which were known and apprehended by our own minds. Our empirical world was less than real, less than substantial, only a shadowy copy of the universals which were prior to our world, "universalia ante rem." Empirical knowledge was discounted as being knowledge of an inferior sort, while metaphysical knowledge was much to be desired. Aristotle also held universals to be the real, the substantial, the essential, but they had no existence apart from the physical world which embodied them. The mind, which grasped them, needed the information which the senses could give it about the physical world, so that some sense might be made of the two different facets of experience, form and matter. Thus, "universalia in re."

Because, for both philosophers, the universals and the physical world were related, though differently for each one, each distinguished in every phenomenon between the substance, or the essence, which made it what it universally was, and the empirical accidents, which made it what it individually was. Substance in a thing was eternal, unchangeable, essential to its nature, while the accidents could vary from case to case and from day to day without the phenomenon undergoing any inherent change. The ontological structure was eternal, while its individual expression was quite temporal, subject to change and decay.

Out of this metaphysical analysis of existence, buttressed by Christian theology, grew the medieval world, the chief characteristics of which were unity and synthesis, for the universals informed the physical world. While the mind had knowledge of the universals, it nevertheless found itself receiving from the physical world around it stimuli and impressions which it found helpful, and the physical world in return was the beneficiary of the abilities of the mind. Thus, while a metaphysical distinction was drawn between the two worlds, yet there was a practical necessity of interdependence and harmony between the two, particularly in Aristotle.

Theological application was almost unlimited. Reason was capable of knowing God and became the handmaid of faith, providing a natural theology and proving the existence of a Supreme Being. Philosophy became the handmaid of theology and could be used apologetically. The natural state of man's existence was thought to be complemented and fulfilled by the imposition of the supernatural upon it through the various channels of the church. Church and state became partners in the guidance of man from this life to the next. Revelation, while perhaps being unreasonable at points, nevertheless, could be shown to be more reasonable than the alternatives. Ethics could be deduced from philosophy. God was primarily Intellect, and, thus, what man's intellect fashioned, since it had contact with God, was good, acceptable, and right. Faith was intellectual assent to propositions of dogma. The doctrine of transubstantiation, in which the substances of bread and wine gave way to the substances of body and blood, while keeping the original accidents, now became logically respectable. The church and civilization became coexistent and coterminal. All empirical knowledge and artistic activity were undertaken for the glory of God and the supernatural, from which they received their being. The text of Scripture did not mean what it plainly said, but was scrutinized for ontological and substantial meanings which were hidden in the accident-symbols of written words.

The breaking up of the Medieval synthesis can be attributed partly to Occam's philosophy. He denied the distinction between essence and existence, between substance and accident, between universal and particular. Matter has its own "substantia" apart from universals, and accidents are only aspects of that substance. Hence, we know the substance of matter through accidents which are conveyed to us through our senses. Thus, Occam became the forerunner of modern empiricism. That which is most real is the individual, with its own peculiar accidents, which is intuited by the mind. The universals, of which Plato and Aristotle spoke, are nothing more than mental constructs, subjective concepts, which are formed by the mind after intuiting a number of individual items. They have, therefore, no eternal reality and do not inform the physical world. While Occam thus destroyed the distinction between the universal and particular by denying the separation of essence and existence, he also destroyed the unity between the world of nature and supernature by limiting the activity of the intellect to the realm of the empirical and mental. The mind cannot know that which it does not intuit through the senses and therefore could not know Platonic and Aristotelian universals, even if such existed. Further, one dare not make of the intellect a universal, wherein it could be expected that all intelligent beings would conform to a given pattern. If the individual is the real, then obviously it is the will rather than the intellect which is primary. Since there are no universals, except as mental constructs, and since the intellect is guided by the will, all that philosophy may mark as its task is analysis rather than synthesis, for it has no basis upon which to proceed in this latter task. Metaphysics thus became logic. Occam, living in the midst of Roman Medievalism, was forced to postulate (to escape the charges of heresy, which he barely managed to do) a separate spiritual realm, divorced entirely from the physical realm, which had far reaching effects on Christian theology.

Reason was now dethroned from its position as an authority in religious matters for it could not know anything about God. Natural theology which was built upon reason was no longer valid, and the proofs of God which it had adduced were now looked upon as being mere probabilities. Philosophy no longer occupied a favored position and no longer served an apologetic purpose, and by the sixteenth century was practically neglected by the reformers. Over the centuries it acquired an increasingly lay character, which it certainly exhibits today. The medieval community which was informed by the sphere of supernature, and to which everyone belonged, because church and society were coexistent and coterminal, gave way to the theory of social contract, wherein the community is a grouping of individuals who have contracted for its existence. This appeared also in the revival of covenant theology, with the church being the community of individuals who have covenanted with God concerning their salvation. Man's hope of knowledge about God and his will depended now upon revelation, which was God's act, rather than man's upward intellectual thrust. This revelation was contained in the Scripture, which meant exactly what it said, rather than being clouded with ontological mysteries. Ethics were revealed rather than deduced and depended on the will of God for their rightness, for God, too, was primarily will rather than intellect. The intellectual efforts of men were now distrusted, for they had no ontological grounding, and human accomplishments were for their own sake, rather than God's glory, which meant the secularizing of life. The ontological gymnastics of substance in the doctrine of transubstantiation, were now no longer feasible.

Within this philosophical climate, the reformers worked, and it is understandable why their theology took the shape it did. Yet, it must be said, that the reformers had one foot remaining in the medieval world, and their Nominalism is apparent only at points. For example, Luther was very much a medievalist in his doctrine of the Supper, wherein the substance of the body and blood co-exist with the substance of bread and wine, both under the accidents of bread and wine. Yet, he assigned reason no place, whatsoever, in the determination of the elements of doctrine. Zwingli was influenced more by Nominalism than either Luther or Calvin, though Calvin was not so very distant from Zurich. Lasco, depending upon the Swiss Reformers for his doctrine, also exhibits Nominalist presuppositions to a great extent.

B. Lasco's Theology

Lasco's theology, bearing the imprint of the Nominalist position, is logical, empirical, maintaining the distinct separation of the spiritual and material realms, and depending upon revelation for a knowledge of that God whose will is primary. It disclaims the abilities of reason to know God; it emphasizes covenant theology; it stresses the primacy and simplicity of Scripture, adherence to a revealed ethic, and a simple, non-philosophical doctrine of the Sacraments.

1. The Problem of Authority

This is the essential problem in any age, and any age that solves it to its satisfaction can look to have its "status quo" disturbed, which was precisely that which was happening to Medieval civilization. The feudal system was crumbling; the control of the Roman church was being challenged, not only by Protestants, but by kings and humanists as well, for there was a new sense of nationalism and a new intellectual atmosphere of inquiry pervading society. Men had begun to move about, the expansion of trade brought the rise of a new middle class, serfs were leaving the land and moving to the city, and as we have already mentioned, the old philosophy was giving way to a new. It was a dynamic age, the effects of which are yet the cause of our present momentum.

Once the religious authority of the Pope was broken, it was necessary to replace it with some other, for men cannot, it seems, live without an authority. Protestants soon found diverse suggestions appearing. The Anabaptists suggested the Holy Spirit, which meant a fragmented and individualized authority. Luther's conversion seemed to suggest a subjective religious experience, which made every man a priest before God. The Scripture soon claimed prominence, but it was open to such diverse interpretation, that it seemed not to work very well. Various forms of church organization, in which "the new presbyter was but the old priest writ large," attempted to deal with the problem. Reason and natural theology, of course, had been ruled out, though not completely in England, and tradition held very little sway, especially in the Reformed segment. Lasco was aware of this problem, at least indirectly, and attempted to deal with it.

He rejected human reason because "neither wisdom nor ability can teach us of God, and of that which pertains to his true worship."[1] The mind is easily ensnared by that which man has accomplished and ~~is~~ thus deluded into thinking that its accomplishments are ultimates.[2] "Because of his (man's) genius, he could conceive many things about God in excess of his promise, although it would nevertheless be false."[3] False types of faith are those which result from our own way of thinking about God, which thinking is deduced from our own nature, from ignorance, and from a misuse of Scripture.[4] Human reason is limited to this world, then, and is incapable of arriving at the truth of God and the world of the spirit. Both Lasco and Calvin rejected philosophy as having any validity in religious matters, though Zwingli, having never completely transcended his humanistic heritage, was more charitable to philosophy and the philosopher.

Lasco also rejected catholic tradition as an authority because it arose, not from Scripture, but from the religious impulse and wisdom of men. This included idols, candles, masses, vigils, indulgences, matins, vespers, intercession to the saints, and native customs. "What! Is not whatever we do in his honor acceptable to God, since we are moved to it by good intentions and true piety? Not at all. God forbids, as if it were an idol, all religion which was neither established nor commanded by his own word."[1] It was for this reason that Lasco supported Hooper in the vestment controversy on the question of adiaphora. There simply were no things indifferent!

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[1] Abraham Kuyper, *Johannis a Lasco Opera tam edita quam inedita* (2 vols.; Amsterdam: Frederic Muller, 1866), II, p. 366. *Supra*, p. 150.

[2] *Ibid*. *Supra*, pp. 150-51.

[3] *Ibid*., p. 402. *Supra*, p. 174.

[4] *Ibid*., p. 404. *Supra*, p. 175.

In his frequent debates with the Lutherans, who cited Luther as the source of their doctrine, he discovered another authority which needed to be toppled: theologians, whether ancient or modern. In his Responsio Adversus Westphalum, after admitting that Zwingli had introduced him to a study of the Gospels, he made it clear that he was not baptized in the name of either Zwingli or Luther, though he held both in high esteem, and neither was crucified for him. Therefore, it was permitted that he disagree with them if he wished.[2] Reference has already been made to his statement concerning that which he had learned from Erasmus, in which he said that if he had progressed beyond this, it was the gift of God to him.[3] Neither was Erasmus his authority. In a letter to Hardenberg, August 23, 1551, he wrote that he was publicly discussing the Sacrament, but "without any great display of the Fathers: I simply explain the matter according to the Scripture."[4] Even the Fathers of the Church were rejected as possessing any final authority, and Lasco's writings contain only infrequent references to them.

Temporal government had no authority in the realm of the spirit. Lasco guarded this principle carefully. He became Superintendent in

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[1] Ibid., p. 366. Supra, p. 149.

[2] Ibid., I, p. 282.

[3] Ibid., II, p. 584.

[4] Ibid., p. 663.

Frisia because he believed the Countess to be in favor of reformation, and when he did not receive government cooperation in the removal of images and the suppression of the Lutheran ministers, he resigned. In England, he was unwilling to celebrate the sacraments so long as he must do it according the Anglican usage. Better it was to be without them! When exiled from England, the Swedish king offered asylum, but was refused because the government expected to have a hand in determining their doctrine and practice. In his letter to Elizabeth, he spoke of "Parliamentary Theology"[1] wherein laymen and government officials determined the content and practice of faith. In the Catechism he stated that it was the duty of the Christian to obey God, rather than men, and whenever any man commanded that which was contrary to God's will, the Christian must not obey, whether the superior be parent, relative, tutor, magistrate, minister, or employer.[2] In a letter to Bullinger and Pellican, March 23, 1546, he stated that he had repudiated the episcopal-magisterial system in which the magistrate was named as an ecclesiastical inspector and took upon himself the right of church discipline, and otherwise interfered in church matters. No human authority had any influence in the spiritual realm.

The personal and subjective religious experience, as an authority, was a problem which Lasco did not treat. His extensive references to the inner man, the motivations which one had, the certainty, security, joy, and hope which the Christian possessed, all testify to the fact that the subjective experience was part of his religion. But he never was aware, seemingly, that it could be used as an authority in the realm of the spirit. It has been argued that this was Luther's starting point, an "a posteriori" reasoning, rather than "a priori." Luther, contends Davies, began with his subjective experience of salvation, which was for him the true experience, and because this experience had arisen from Scripture and conformed to Scripture, Scripture became the objective authority.[1] Lasco, never having experienced the release from anguish which Luther experienced, neither affirmed nor denied the subjective as having any authority in the realm of the spirit. Zwingli, in his earlier years, before his conflict with the Anabaptists, had given the subjective limited authority, in that the source of one's experience of communion with God must be a true source, even though it be neither Scripture or sacraments. This, however, he could not maintain against the Anabaptists and it disappeared from his thought. It can be argued, however, that had Lasco been pressed, he would, of necessity, have denied the subjective authority of religious experience.

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[1] Ibid., pp. 758ff.

[2] Ibid., p. 378. Supra, p. 158.

What, then, was the authority for Christians? The answer was--the Scripture. One could learn God's doctrine from the Scripture, both the Old and New Testaments, in which the truth is clearly reported to us without deceit, since it came from the mouth of God. Further, the Scripture teaches us all that we need to know for the gaining of salvation,[2] and it contains all that we need to do for the correct worship

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[1] Rupert Davies, The Problem of Authority in the Continental Reformers (London: Epworth Press, 1946), Chap. 1.

[2] Kuyper, II, p. 354. Supra, p. 142.

of God. "Nor must we believe in things pertaining to religion apart from the written word of God, which is infallible and eternal in its sure discernment."[1] Though it is infallible and eternal, the Scripture is a record of the revelations of God which have come through angels, Prophets, Christ and the Apostles, and is thus a secondary source. It was this division of Scripture into these three segments which made it possible for Lasco to deal with the problem of divergent interpretations.

All Christian groups claimed to base their faith upon Scripture, from the Papists through the Anabaptists and Davidists. Yet, all had not the right interpretation. By what authority did one select the correct interpretation of the authority? By the authority of unity, of agreement, of noncontradiction. Since there are imposters who masquerade as angels, and since there are false prophets, the correct interpretation is that in which doctrine and practice are in agreement among the several revelations of the angels, prophets, and Christ and the apostles. It is from Christ that angels, prophets, and apostles have taken their doctrine, and thus they all must agree.[2] However, to leave the solution thus stated, would imply that, by applying the rules of logic and careful scholarship, anyone could achieve a true statement of doctrine which would be in accord with the three primary sources. This, though, is not the case. True doctrine is arrived at through the leading of the Holy Spirit. Only through it is it possible to come to any correct understanding of the Scriptures. This is not stated in so many words, but in drawing from the Scripture for a statement of doctrine concerning, for example, the church or Christ, Lasco prefaces his statements with phrases such as these: "The Holy Spirit discloses . . .";[1] "The Holy Spirit distinguishes for us . . .";[2] "The Holy Spirit through whom we may chiefly arrive at a true and saving knowledge . . . ."[3] Thus, the unanimity between angels, prophets, and Christ and the Apostles is a Spirit-arrived-at unanimity. The Scripture is the Christian's authority, but only if these two conditions are fulfilled. The function of the Spirit was not to reveal new doctrines, as the Anabaptists were reproached for holding, but merely to interpret doctrine which had already been revealed. Since the Spirit was the power making possible the original revelation of Scripture, he must be consistent with himself, interpreting his earlier efforts consistently and revealing nothing new.[4] Any spirit which does more than interpret, or advances a new doctrine is a false spirit, not conforming to the Scripture. Thus, the Spirit gives authority to Scripture, and Scripture gives authority to the Spirit!

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[1] _Ibid._, p. 402. _Supra_, p. 174.

[2] _Ibid._, p. 296. _Supra_, p. 237.

What relationship exists between the Word of God and Scripture? Luther, sensing that certain passages such as James, Jude, and Revelation did not preach the Gospel as he had discovered it in Romans, held that there was a difference between the eternal Word and the written word. Calvin and Zwingli identified the two; all Scripture, the Old Testament with its legality, and James with its salvation of works, and all else, was the Word. It would seem that Lasco also adopted this position. The references already cited, which speak of the Scripture coming from the mouth of God and of being infallible and eternal, indicate it. His literal use of the text, his explaining of one passage by quoting another, his refusal to speculate about or question any part of it indicate that the written word had a sacredness which forbade men to tamper with it.

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[1] Ibid. Supra, p. 238.

[2] Ibid., p. 312. Supra, p. 250.

[3] Ibid., p. 314. Supra, p. 252.

[4] Ibid., p. 434. Supra, p. 193.

Not only is Scripture equated with the Word, but upon the basis of the foregoing it is also to be equated with revelation. One learns of the doctrine which God has revealed from the Scripture which has come from his mouth. Revelation is thus God given, rather than being the result of man's own thought. Revelation and Scripture have come to us through God's initiative and are thus more than human achievement. Nevertheless, Lasco is not Barthian on the question of natural revelation. God is revealed to all men in the existence of created things, to such an extent that no one has any excuse for his wrong doing.[1] From nature, both in its creation and sustenance, one can discern the magnificence, wisdom, and power of God.[2] If one wishes to have some representation of God, why does he not look at the heavens and earth and their creatures, particularly at man, rather than making idols.[1] However, the knowledge of God which one derives from nature, while it is sufficient to prevent us from pleading ignorance, it is not sufficient to save us. Saving knowledge comes only as a gift of God through his Spirit, which, in turn, has recorded that knowledge in the Scriptures.[2]

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[1] *Ibid*., p. 354. *Supra*, p. 142.

[2] *Ibid*., p. 356. *Supra*, p. 144.

Because of this view of Scripture as the supreme authority for the faith, Lasco used Scripture quite literally. Consider, for example, his treatment of the unity and trinity of God in questions six through eight of the Catechism. How do we know God to be one? God has so said in Scripture. How do we know him to be three? From Scripture. To cite a passage is to prove the point or to demonstrate the axiom. For the Christian, Scripture was simple and uncomplicated, and difficult passages were to be explained from other passages. One needed no aid in interpretation or in the explanation of it to others. His letter to Hardenberg said that he made no reference to the Fathers; he was simply explaining the doctrine of the Supper from Scripture.[3] The analogical and metaphorical meanings of the scholastics were done away with, since Scripture meant just what it said. His proof that Jesus was a true man and was actually born of a virgin was made by citing Scripture, and then by adding that the words of Scripture meant just what any other words mean, and if Scripture says he was a man born of a virgin, then it can only mean this and nothing else.[1] It is to be interpreted as other books, except that the interpretation was Spirit directed.

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[1] Ibid., p. 368. Supra, pp. 151f.

[2] Ibid., p. 354. Supra, p. 142.

[3] Ibid., p. 663.

2. The Person and Work of Christ

A second doctrine with which Lasco dealt at some length was that of the person and work of Christ. It was necessary to restate the orthodox position for several reasons. The Roman Catholics had an elaborate doctrine involving priests, the mass, and transubstantiation in which the priest at the mass, after changing the bread and wine into the body and blood of the Lord, proceeded to offer it as a new sacrifice of him for humanity. Protestantism rejected this doctrine with all the vigor it could muster, for Christ had been crucified once, for all, and a renewed sacrifice was not only unnecessary, but blasphemous, supposing that a man could offer Christ. A second reason was the Anabaptist heresy that Christ could not have received his flesh from the virgin Mary, for human flesh is sinful, thus making Christ sinful. Rather, Christ brought his flesh with him from heaven, a spiritual flesh which was uncorrupted. However, orthodox Christianity held that Christ received his flesh from Mary, since it was necessary that our humanity be united with his divinity if true salvation was to be effected. Third, the opposite doctrine was also beginning to be propounded, the beginnings of unitarianism, that Christ was not divine, but only a superior human. Again, orthodoxy refused this.

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[1] _Ibid_., p. 418. _Supra_, p. 184.

Jesus Christ was the only son of God, only distinguishing between him and believers. The believer was an adopted son, but Jesus was of the nature and substance of God and was born of the splendor of God's glory. He was also man--a true natural man, miraculously born of the virgin, Mary, a participant in our flesh and blood. By becoming man, he did not lose or lay aside his divinity but retained it, thus, possessing both natures at the same time, but without any co-mingling. Though he was human, he was so with a difference, for through conception sin is passed on from flesh to flesh. Because of his conception by the power of the Spirit, no sin attached itself to his flesh; hence, he was born without sin and blemish. His humanity was that of Adam's before his Fall.[1] If he had been born with sin, then he could never have satisfied the demands of the Law and could not have provided our salvation.[2]

The work of Christ was discerned through his name and his titles. His name, Jesus, meant Savior, and as such he was the Savior of the world, except of those who may despise him through impiety and wickedness.[3] As Savior he accomplished two things: he dealt effectively with the Law; and he freely bestowed upon us that which he had acquired through his perfect obedience. Adam, by his rebellion, was condemned, and in order for him to be restored, he must make satisfaction. Because he was now infected with sin, he could do nothing else than sin, and satisfaction became impossible. Condemnation was all that was to be expected. The same was now true for the entire human race. Jesus, by his sinless human nature, was able to meet the demands of the Law and was, thus, under no condemnation. Yet, he was condemned, and the satisfaction deriving from this act of justice, since he needed it not, he transferred to mankind. Thus, our debt to God's honor is paid and our duty toward the Law is done. Our imperfection is now perfection, and his reward is also ours.[1]

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[1] Ibid., pp. 416ff, 302f. Supra, pp. 182ff., 242f.

[2] Ibid. [3] Ibid., p. 302. Supra, p. 243.

One title which Jesus bears is "Christ," which simply means the anointed one. In the Old Testament three offices were filled through anointing--Prophet, Priest, and King. As a Prophet, the work of Christ was to declare and teach the doctrine of God, and it behooves us to heed his teaching since his is the wisdom and knowledge of God. In him dwelt the fullness of all things. His doctrine will endure longer than heaven and earth. None, before or after, has equalled him. As a Priest, it was he who offered the sacrifice which satisfied the justice of God--a sacrifice of his own flesh and blood. He was the only Priest who could offer this sacrifice, and it was done once, for all. Others who anoint priests, have no priests, and who offer sacrifices are acting blasphemously. As a Priest, he has gained for us access to heaven; he was the true mediator; and he is our comfort in affliction. Christ was put to death and buried, "not because of his own sins, but because of ours and those of the entire world, that he might bear sin in his holy, single and eternal sacrifice, and reconcile us to God. Therefore, he stood as the image of the true mediator, wholly in place of the sinner, confronting the wrath of God; he satisfied the justice of God, and, thus, freed us from death, hell, and the devil." His suffering showed to us the awful results of our sin and the wondrous mercy of the love of God.[1] As King, Christ has effectively broken the power of sin in human life; he has conquered death, guaranteed eternal life; and from his throne at the right hand of God, he rules heaven and earth. He is also present in his church, ruling and protecting it. At the last day, he shall appear to judge the earth and will receive his own into his eternal kingdom.[2] There have been other prophets, priests, and kings, but they have lacked two essential characteristics--that of supremacy and eternality. Only Christ is ascribed these characteristics by Scripture and is, therefore, above all others in his power, authority, and effectiveness. This delineation of Christ as Prophet, Priest, and King was adopted from Calvin.

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[1] _Ibid_., pp. 396ff., 418. _Supra_, pp. 169ff., 183f.

The title, "Son of God," implied the task of revealing God to men, who, by their perverse nature, were unable through their own ability to deduce anything correct about God. It was the Son who had made God known. His revelation tolerated no other inquiry or investigation about God, and that which he revealed was all that man needed, or was supposed to know, of God. Unless one admitted that he was completely blind, unable to see the light of God, he could not receive the revelation of God in Christ. What did the Son teach us? He taught that God is spirit, eternal, omnipotent, all good, all sufficient, omniscient, the creator, sustainer, and governor of all things, the judge of the universe and the savior of angels and men. He also taught that God is one and three, and that he, the Son, is God and man, both in one flesh.

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[1] _Ibid_., pp. 414, 422f. _Supra_, pp. 181f., 186ff.

[2] _Ibid_., pp. 304, 422, 430. _Supra_, pp. 244f., 187, 190f.

Of the three classical theories of the Atonement--the Ransom, the Satisfaction, and the Sacrifical--Lasco, as did Luther and Calvin, stressed the latter two. Christ, taking our place, was our substitute upon whom the wrath of God was vented, thus satisfying the demand of justice. If he had not been completely human, he would not have been able to satisfy the Law "in our place, nor, by his payment, to liberate us from its condemnation."[1] It was necessary that the punishment be met by us, and as a man, Christ has discharged and dismissed it. "His innocent death is the payment of our guilt and sin."[2] "He stood wholly in place of the sinner, confronting the wrath of God."[3] Further, Christ, as a priest, offered himself as a perfect sacrifice for the sins of humanity.

3. The Doctrine of the Church

Lasco treated the doctrine of the church, not only from his Nominalist presuppositions, but also from the standpoint of the historical circumstances in which he was involved. Therefore, his characterization of the church is primarily in empirical, nonspeculative terms, since, in the face of the sects and Roman Catholic claims, it was necessary to delineate, as clearly and unmistakably as possible, the true church of Jesus Christ. Particularly was this true in England where, as Strangers among a host of refugees, many of whom were heretics, and in the midst of an established church, they needed an unmistakable identity. The Confession, to which all prospective church members had to assent, is primarily a statement of the doctrine of the church and its faith.

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[1] _Ibid_., p. 418. _Supra_, pp. 183f.

[2] _Ibid_., p. 438. _Supra_, p. 196.

[3] _Ibid_., p. 422. _Supra_, p. 187.

The term, "church," being derived from "eccaleo," implied a community of people whom God has set apart as his own. Since many groups had appropriated this name, it was necessary to distinguish between a true and a false calling out. There were four criteria by which the validity of the call could be tested. They were: first, that the church was called out by the voice of God himself; second, since all groups which used the name also professed to be called by God's voice, it was necessary that the source of God's voice be determined; if it came through the angels, prophets, and Christ, then it was an authentic call; third, the voice of God, coming through these three mediums, must be consistent with itself, and the mediums of angels and prophets must agree with Christ who was the final authority; fourth, the voice of God as it came through Christ was further mediated through the Apostles and Evangelists who had received his spirit.[1]

Once the correctness of the call had been established, the true church would then be known by three characteristics. Since the Roman church claimed the Augustinian marks of unity, catholicity, apostolicity, and holiness, it was necessary that Lasco determine others. The first was the continuity of the church with antiquity (a kind of Apostolic succession pushed to the extreme; if the Romans claimed descent from Peter, Lasco would claim it from Adam). After Adam's fall, God extended to him the promise of redemption, and Adam, thereby, became the first of God's "called out ones." The lineage then ran through several individuals, including Methuselah, who was born before Adam died, Noah, who was born before Methuselah died, Shem, Abraham, Jacob, Kohath, Amram, and Moses, so that the line was unbroken down to the time of Christ and the Apostles, and it had continued on to the time of Lasco. Any church, which wished acceptance as a true church, had to be able to claim this continuity with antiquity. This immediately eliminated the Muslims, who began with Mohammed, the Romans, who began "long after Christ," and the Anabaptists and Davidists, who were of recent origin.

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[1] Ibid., pp. 294f. Supra, pp. 236f.

It was true that the church in the Old Testament was much different in its practice and worship than was the church in the New Testament, but this was to be explained on the basis that the Old Testament church was the church of the promise, while the New Testament church had received that promise. Thus, the cultus of the Old Testament church consisted of elements, such as the priesthood and animal sacrifices, which pointed toward, or were types of, the promised Christ. When Christ appeared, it was no longer necessary to continue a typological cultus. If, according to Nominalist presuppositions, the physical can never be the bearer of, or have any essential relationship with the divine, then the change of cultus was not only theologically defensible, but philosophically possible, without altering the essential nature of the church. It was an altered doctrine which would have made a difference, for to alter it would be to destroy the church; so, while the cultus changed, the doctrine in both Testaments remained the same.[1] This was essentially the position of Calvin, who also held that the doctrine of both Testaments was the same, but that the ceremonial and judicial aspects of the Old Testament were not binding on Christians.

The second mark of the church was its profession of faith. Lasco summarized this profession in the doctrine of the person and work of Christ, who was Jesus, the Savior, anointed Prophet, Priest and King, and the Son of God. He laid heavy emphasis on the Incarnation and virgin birth and on the unity of God in which there were three distinct persons. The church which professed this faith was a true church.[2]

The third mark of the church was its profession of that faith in a concrete and evident way. The profession of the faith was twofold—private and public--the private one pertaining to the individual and the public one pertaining to the church as it existed in society. The professions, both private and public, were made in two ways--by mouth (or ceremonies of the church by which the faith may be witnessed by the public), and by the performance of duties. The private profession of the mouth was performed by the individual whenever the occasion demanded that he declare his position. He should be able to say, "I believe, therefore, I speak." The public profession by the mouth was the observance of the various services and ceremonies by which it was plainly made understood that this group had been called apart as the people of the Lord Christ. To keep persons from these professions, such as the Anabaptists were doing by refusing to baptize infants, was wrong. Of all the ceremonies which the church practiced, the two most important ones were the sacraments.

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[1] Ibid., pp. 296ff. Supra, pp. 238ff.

[2] Ibid., pp. 300-22. Supra, pp. 241-258.

The private profession of one's duty pertained to the individual's practice of brotherly love and the admonishing of others to do their duty. The church was a body, an organism, in which each member was important, each being expected to fulfill the obligation laid upon him. The public profession of duty was that which the church performed in its various ministries. The three principal public ministries were those of the word, the sword, and food. The first included the duties of teaching, administering the sacraments, the growth and edification of the church through discipline, admonition, and consolation, the contesting against adversaries, and the governing of the church through example rather than rule. The minister of the sword was the magistrate, whose duties included the promotion and defense of the church by making sure its ministers were orthodox, the punishing of disobedience, upholding the pure observance of the various institutions of Christ in the church, the protection of the interests of church members within the limits of the law, and the securing of the peace of the church. The ministry of deacons was the gathering and dispersing of alms for the poor.[1]

If the first consideration concerning the "call" is added, Lasco's delineation of the church included, then, a correct call, continuity with antiquity, correct faith, and a faithful profession of that faith. This, of course, was the ideal church which was embodied most correctly in the Reformed tradition, to which Lasco belonged. However, the church has never perfectly exhibited these four marks, for it has sin within it. "She has been drawn into various faults and sins, which she acknowledges, with daily sorrow of heart . . ."[2] Lasco acknowledged that the Lutheran church and the Anglican church were truly Christian, though each was yet beset with a number of impurities which the Reformed segment had succeeded in eliminating. The Roman church, with its mass, transubstantiation, indulgences, merits, works salvation, and priesthood, has departed so far from the above definition that it was not the true church, but a false one, to be classed in the same paragraph, at least, with the Muslims, Anabaptists, and Davidians.[3]

Though the church was beset by sin and imperfection, nevertheless, she would never be subject to the judgement of God, for Christ had delivered her from the condemnation of the Law, and daily renewed and sanctified her by his spirit within her.[1]

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[1] Ibid., pp. 322-32. Supra, pp. 258-264.

[2] Ibid., p. 438. Supra, p. 196.

[3] Ibid., p. 300. Supra, pp. 240f.

To be a member of the church, even though the body may approximate the definition of a true church, was no guarantee that one was holy and righteous. Church membership was no vehicle to salvation, though apart from it there could be no salvation. There were sinners within any church who confessed the name of Christ, who used the sacraments, and who were subject to discipline.[2] Thus, while Lasco never specified this distinction, it may be assumed that he admitted its existence, that of the visible and invisible church, the former known among men, the latter known only by God. Luther, Calvin, and Zwingli all distinguished between that church which was composed of God's elect and the church to which all citizens belonged. Yet, the visible church was a necessary and indispensable part of the invisible, and without it there was no salvation. But Lasco, in his refusal to speculate, had nothing to say pertaining to the invisible church. He did, however, follow Calvin with his emphasis upon the Law as the rule of obedience for Christians, who should be holy insofar as possible. It was their aim to create a holy people within history. Luther, of course, had no such ambitions, declaring that the church was holy simply because Christ was present with it, and that the Law only drove men to despair, the Christian life being spontaneous. Hence, while the Church for Calvin and Lasco had this double aspect, all its members were expected, upon pain of censure and excommunication, to live conformably with the

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[1] _Ibid._, p. 438. _Supra_, p. 196.

[2] _Ibid._, p. 436. _Supra_, p. 194.

Christian ethic.

Lasco's position on the relationship between the word and church ought now to be evident. Since the Scripture was synonymous with the eternal Word, and since it was the only authority for the Christian, the church, then, was to be completely subservient to the Scripture. The Scripture called the church into being, the "call" of God coming through angels, prophets, and Christ and the Apostles, which revelation is the Scripture. By the preaching of doctrine, observance of the sacraments, and by discipline, all of which are derived from the Word, the church was brought into being. The worship, discipline, organization, faith, and marks of the church were all determined from Scripture. At no point was human opinion, local custom or government interference to have any voice in any of these matters. Only Scripture could reveal the will of God on these points. All which transpired in the church, such as sermons, lectures, discipline, or elections, were to be tested by the word, which was precisely the function of the prophesying, wherein anyone was permitted to call upon another asking that he prove his position from Scripture. This practice was the essential one which preserved the church from error. Calvin held essentially the same position, though he did not rely upon the prophesying for decision in doctrinal matters, but rather upon a council of leaders. He was more charitable, too, toward matters of adiaphora than was Lasco, because, while the Scripture provided the essentials of worship, it left many things to man's discretion. However, the decisions of one generation were not to be held as binding upon the next, said Calvin. But Lasco held that the word specified the use of prophesying and Presbyterial government, both of which gave a large voice to the laity. This derived from his nominalism in which the community of the church is the result of the agreement among an aggregation of individuals.

The relationship of church and state has already been briefly mentioned. If the Scripture was supreme in determining the life and worship of the church, then the state has no business interfering. For this principle Lasco constantly fought. However, the state was ordained by God for the benefit of mankind, and as was mentioned, in the *Confession* the magistrate was listed as one of the three ministers of the church. His task, however, was not to interfere with the church's internal affairs, but rather to provide the sort of external environment in which the church could operate effectively.

> God has instituted on earth the magistrates, that in his place and as his special ministers, they may remove and punish all injury, violence, and crime, and likewise all blasphemies against God, for the glory of God, and for the maintenance of peace and piety in the church.[1]

Lasco's introductory statement to the *Confession* had much to say in praise of King Edward which illuminates this question. Edward had provided a quiet cove wherein the shipwreck of the church, caused by the storms in Europe, might reassemble itself in peace and security and freedom. Edward was a Josiah whom God had raised up for this particular purpose, and because of his kindnesses evangelical doctrine will be saved from division, infiltration, and extinction. His influence will undoubtedly result in the restoration of the true church even in those lands where it was now being persecuted. But what prerogatives did the church claim toward the ordering of the secular government? So long as the government provided and maintained the environment for the church the answer was, "none." " . . . the Kingdom of Christ has almost nothing in common with the political government of the state." Thus, the government had nothing to fear from the church.[1] The King was the governor of the Kingdom of Christ, and he could honor it be defending and promoting (not determining) its purity of doctrine. The magistrate was sometimes called upon to handle intractable ones who persisted in their heresy or disobedience, whom the church could not handle. If a Stranger was excommunicated for sin or heresy, the presbyters simply informed the government that he was either not attending church or that he was a heretic, and the Convocation or Council took action against him. The Christian was to obey the State in all matters except where there was a clear violation of the state's prerogative in religious matters. Edward was the governor of Christ's kingdom, and Christians were subject to him. The magistrate was to be a Christian, confessing the faith of the church, and his duties as a magistrate in relation to the church were derived directly from Scripture--Isaiah 49; II Chronicles 19; Romans 13; Isaiah 56; Jeremiah 6; I Timothy 2. Both Calvin and Zwingli saw the State as ordained by God, not through the word but apart from it, as a separate sphere necessary for the governing of sinful men, while the word pertained only to the life of the church. But Lasco held the magistracy to derive directly from the word itself.

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[1] *Ibid*., p. 380. *Supra*, p. 160.

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[1] Ibid., p. 290. Supra, p. 232.

Nevertheless, all three saw the duty of the state to be that of enforcing the Gospel on society and of backing the church in its discipline. The "pure" Church of the Anabaptists was rejected because it undercut the community and cooperation of the church and state.

In so far as social questions were concerned, Lasco shared the views of Calvin and Zwingli, rather than the position of Luther. The latter, especially after the Peasants' War, believed that the Christian and the church had little to do with social questions. Society, argued Luther, was composed of both Christians and non-Christians--the former needing no external law, force, or government to insure a stable society, the latter needing these things to prevent society from collapsing into complete chaos. He, therefore, posited two realms: the realm of the personal in which the Christian practiced faith, hope, and love without concern for himself and his welfare; and the realm of the citizen within society who very often had to do those things which were a direct violation of the Decalogue in order to insure the larger good of a stable society. This distinction enabled him to urge the princes to put down the Peasants' rebellion, because the peasants were threatening the stability of society and because their demands were primarily social rather than theological. The prince is called upon to kill and plunder because it is his office as a prince, even though this may be contrary to his ethic as a man.[1] The same distinction is made concerning the enlisted soldier, the judge, and the hangman.[1] Thus, Luther posited a double morality for the Christian which produced an ethical tension between his ethic as a person and his ethic as a member of society.

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[1] Martin Luther, "Against the Robbing and Murdering Hordes of Peasants, " Works of Martin Luther, ed. Henry Eyster Jacobs (Philadelphia: Muhlenberg Press, 1943), IV, pp. 247-54.

The Roman church also had a double ethic but without the tension. The Christian was expected to obey the Decalogue as it was reinterpreted in the New Testament if he wished to obtain eternal life. However, Jesus advocated Evangelical Counsels of Perfection which constituted the "Law of Liberty" and which could be freely chosen by those who desired it. These Counsels were for those "who desired to do more than the minimum and to aim at Christian perfection, so far as that can be obtained here on earth."[2] These Counsels show the way to eternal life "more certainly and expeditiously."[3] They are based on Matthew 19, wherein Jesus urged the rich young ruler to the rule of poverty after informing him that keeping the Decalogue would lead to eternal life. In the same chapter, and in I Corinthians 7, the Counsel of Chastity is urged. Obedience to authority is the third Counsel. Again, then, there is a double ethic, but without the tension as in Luther.

Calvin, Zwingli, and Lasco knew of only one ethic--that of the Decalogue and Jesus, which were one and the same, and it was applicable to both society and the individual. The church's task was to win and mold the world to this standard. No ethical problem, be it social or personal, was beyond the church's legitimate concern. Calvin and Zwingli succeeded in working out some of the implications of this position in Zurich and Geneva. Lasco, however, due to his unsettled condition, never had the opportunity of informing even a city with his position, and thus we never see him exercising the degree of control over the citizenry that Calvin and Zwingli exercised. His work in East Frisia came as near to this as he was ever to attain and leaves no doubt that this was ideal.

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[1] *Ibid.*, "An Earnest Exhortation for all Christians, Warning Them Against All Insurrection and Rebellion," III, pp. 201-22; "Secular Authority: To What Extent It Should Be Obeyed," III, pp. 223-73; and "Whether Soldiers, Too, Can Be Saved," V, pp. 29-74.

[2] "Counsels, Evangelical," *Catholic Encyclopedia*, ed. Charles G. Herbermann, et al. (New York: The Encyclopedia Press, Inc., 1913), IV, p. 435.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 436.

4. The Doctrine of Man

Lasco began his Catechism with a question about man who was the pinnacle of God's creative activity and whose purpose was to love, fear, honor, and praise God, and to become a participant in all his goodness.[1] Throughout the Catechism, (the Confession said little of man) the traditional view of man was upheld, wherein man participated in this world through his body and mind, and in the spiritual world through his soul. The body was essential to the person, and would, therefore, be raised on the day of judgement and be given a spirit for continued existence with just one part of his nature. The whole man would be alive.[2]

Lasco was unclear on the question of the mind. The first question in the Catechism asked, "Why did God provide man with such great qualities of intellect in comparison with all other creatures?", as if to say that the primary basis for the God-man relationship was intellectual. This is neither

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[1] Kuyper, II, p. 354. Supra, p. 142.

[2] Ibid., p. 440. Supra, p. 197.

Nominalist nor Christian but points to Platonism. If he really held this, then he could not speak, as he does, of the mind being blinded by sin, corrupt, unable to know God in a saving way. He also urged unwavering faith, without reservation, whether or not the question involved was understood, for the mind was not capable of judging the validity of religious dogma.[1] Yet, the mind did play an important part in the life of the Christian, for Lasco wrote the Catechism for the instruction of children, the Confession for a proper understanding of the church, and he supervised the schools in Frisia and gave preference to those who were gifted, all of which points to the fact that the intellect was important in his thought, that it was a part of man's finite, sinful being and yet constituted, in some way, a channel through which God could be known and understood. Perhaps the confusion arose from the fact that he often used the Latin "animus" which had a myriad number of meanings, including the rational soul, the intellect, the conscience, opinion, heart, emotions, etc. Perhaps it is due to the lingering of his humanistic training.

The first man, Adam, had free will that he might not sin. His choice of sin resulted in the loss of that freedom, not only for himself, but for the entire human race. Not only this, but the image of God and the inclination to do good was also lost. The image of God had made possible immortality, freedom of choice, holiness, wisdom, and the ability to rule the world. These now being lost, the descendants of Adam have inherited the results of his sin, for it was not possible that he, being their father, could have created them any better than he himself was. Thus, "we are not only conceived in sin in our mother's womb, but are born as servants of sin and sons of wrath, and in our nature have neither any knowledge or inclination, nor will, which would prompt us to do the commandment of God, to such an extent that by nature, we can do nothing except sin."[1] Lasco lacks Luther's deeper and more dynamic concept of sin as being the destruction of the relationship between man and God, and of sinful man standing "coram deo."

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[1] Ibid., p. 404. Supra, p. 174.

Sin was more than mere transgression of the Law, for man could keep himself from external sinful acts, such as killing, adultery, stealing, drunkenness, and slander. Sin was a condition of his inner nature, a perversion of the self, a wrongly oriented affection of the heart, so that he could do nothing but sin. Obedience in external acts was hollow if the heart did not love the Law and God.[2]

In this situation, then, man's only hope was God, and God did not leave him to perish. As has already been mentioned, God has, through Jesus Christ, accomplished the conditions for our salvation. That which yet remained was for man, through faith, to accept Jesus Christ. Faith had its origin in the word of God through the power of the Holy Spirit. "Faith is a sure, unshaken, undeceptive awareness of the divine favor and mercy toward us, together with the certainty of the gracious promise confirmed in Christ, which is disclosed to and sealed in our minds and hearts through the Holy Spirit."[3] The evidences of faith were the fruits of the Holy Spirit, which were best seen in the love of God and one's neighbor.

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[1] Ibid., p. 392. Supra, p. 168.

[2] Ibid., pp. 392f. Supra, pp. 168f.

[3] Ibid., p. 408. Supra, p. 177.

The Holy Spirit, then, played an important part in one's faith. The word alone could not give faith, but only if the Spirit was present and operative. The sure awareness of God's favor was sealed in man's mind and heart by the Spirit, and the Spirit made the faith effective in him. Apart from the Spirit, then, "we can do nothing good nor inwardly know of divine things, for in ourselves we have nothing beyond empty darkness, ignorance, and hypocrisy."[1] Faith, then, was not man's doing. The most that man could do was to admit that he could do nothing. But are some elected to salvation and others predestined to damnation? Lasco, being consistent with his refusal to speculate, did not say. There are evidences that he was not so harsh as Calvin and Zwingli on the matter. We have seen that he refused to be drawn into the controversy begun by Florio who had accused one of the Strangers' ministers of not holding Calvin's view. D'Aubigne quotes Lasco, "'If a man be lost, it is not because God created him for the purpose of suffering everlasting punishment, but because he has voluntarily despised the grace of God in Jesus Christ.'"[2] This is a denial that some men were damned by God's will, and makes possible the salvation of all. Yet, if man can do nothing but sin, then how can he voluntarily despise God's grace? Did Lasco hold to a concept of a prevenient grace which enables man, at some point, to choose? He does not say. Wotschke has also said that Lasco leaned theologically upon Calvin but without sharing his doctrine of predestination.[1] It is entirely possible that he held a synergistic position similar to Erasmus and Melanchthon who allowed some part in salvation to man's choice, though attributing the greater part to grace. In a letter to the Duke of Prussia, July 11, 1549, he admitted the possibility that even the elect could fall through unbelief. One is constituted and stands by faith, and so is elect. If one departs from faith, though, then he falls from grace and is damned.[2]

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[1] Ibid., p. 432. Supra, p. 192.

[2] Merle D'Aubigne, History of the Reformation in Europe in the Time of Calvin (8 vols.; London: Longmans, Green, and Co., 1876), VII, p. 576.

Lasco, perhaps understandably so, living in a revolutionary age which drove him across Europe and back again, emphasized again and again the certainty and security which one possessed once he knew himself to be a Christian. This was one of the functions of the sacraments--to seal and make valid and effective the promise of God, so that one would, beyond all doubt, know himself to be God's chosen one.

> It is incomparable consolation to hear in life and in death, that the supreme God, the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, also wishes to be our Father, to such a degree that he willingly wishes to care for us who are as abject little worms, no less than among humans an earthly father embraces his own son, and wants us to be heirs and sons of eternal life.[3]

The Holy Spirit produced ethical action on the part of the Christian, which action was summed up in the Decalogue. All the reformers, Lutheran and Reformed, found it of value to include the Decalogue at some point in their catechisms and other books of instruction. Lasco, however, is unique in his treatment of it. Whereas others explained the obvious meaning in the negative terms of the commandment, Lasco, for each commandment, has a positive and negative observance, and rather than being content with explaining the meaning, he attempted to apply it concretely to the Christian's daily life. For example, the commandment, "thou shalt not steal." The positive observance was for the Christian to permit each man to be master of his own fortunes, to practice justice and equity toward his neighbor, supporting, promoting, and preserving his neighbor's welfare, resources, and employment, to be generous with him, lending and giving in proportion to his need and his own ability. The violation occurred when one removed his neighbor's resources, bringing injury to him, whether it was done by fighting, plundering, stealing, fraud, lying, cheating, usury, or false merchandising; also, when in one's own affairs he was so eager for gain, that he procured to the detriment of his neighbor's procuring; also, when he did not give alms for the poor as he should, and when he refused to pay lawful taxes. Lasco had, indeed, a rich and comprehensive view of the embodiment of the Christian life as it was proclaimed in the Decalogue. A marvelous gesture of Christian charity appeared in his treatment of the commandment on bearing false witness. This is positively observed, when, among other things, one was prepared to conceal the shame of his neighbor as if it were his own.[1]

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[1] Theodore Wotschke, "Laski," _Die Religion in Geschichte und Gegenwart: Handwörterbuch für Theologie und Religionswissenschaft_, ed. Alfred Bertholet, Hermann Faber, Horst Stephan, Hermann Gunkel, und Leopold Zscharnack (Tübingen: J.C.B. Mohr, 1929), III.

[2] Kuyper, II, pp. 624f.

[3] _Ibid._, p. 410. _Supra_, p. 179.

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[1] Ibid., p. 384. Supra, p. 163.

Not as part of the Decalogue, comes another gem of charity, on forgiving one's enemies. When one is hurt by another, he should voluntarily acknowledge that he deserved the evil, and that "this is God's way of repaying and punishing us for our sins, and of teaching us patience."[1]

If men were prone to sin and could not keep the Law, why was it given? It was given for three reasons. First, that man could compare the states of innocence and perversity which had been and is his lot. Second, that it might lead him to Christ who has fulfilled it in his place. Third, that it might exhibit the judgement and wrath of God upon those who despise it and its author.[2] Calvin saw the Law as that which taught man that he was not justified by works, which urged him to seek help, and which acted as a bridle, keeping him and society turned in the direction of life.

But man was not merely a creature of this world; he was destined for eternity. On that last day the body and spirit would be united through the gift of eternal life. The body would then be holy, alive, immortal, incorruptible, devoid of every fault, unsorrowing, and adorned with power and glory. Indeed, no mortal tongue can declare, nor the heart of man conceive the wondrousness of it all. Unbelievers would find their lot to be that of the unextinguishable fire and extreme darkness. The article in the Apostles' Creed affirming eternal life is the very foundation of all the others, for if it is not believed, then the others are believed in vain, for this is also God's promise.[1]

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[1] Ibid., p. 454. Supra, pp. 206f.

[2] Ibid., pp. 394f. Supra, pp. 169f.

5. The Doctrine of the Sacraments

Before Lasco's position on the sacraments can be properly understood, it is necessary to recall certain Nominalist presuppositions, and to briefly review the positions of Zwingli and Calvin. Nominalism rejected the Aristotelian distinction between substance and accident, which had been the basis for the Roman view of transubstantiation and Luther's view of consubstantiation. It maintained that only the physical world could be spoken of with certainty, and that, only through empirical knowledge. A spiritual realm was posited as a possibility, but of it there could be no humanly derived knowledge. Thus, there is no essential, substantial relationship between the physical and the spiritual. Since the individual is the only real entity, it was also impossible for one individual to participate in the substance of another. So far as the Supper was concerned, then, it was not possible for the elements of bread and wine to bear any essential relationship to the substance of the body of Christ, which was now inhabiting the spiritual realm. Further, it was impossible for a Christian to participate in the substance of the body of Christ.

Zwingli held this position. Since there was no essential relationship between the world of physical substances and the world of the spirit, physical elements could not convey grace.[2] Neither was there any reason for them to convey grace, for the link between the Christian and the spiritual world was the Holy Spirit, which needed no physical vehicle through which to work.[1] If the elements were the body and blood of Christ, for they could not contain it, as Luther and the Romans asserted, then there can be only a crass literal eating of his body in which his flesh is actually torn by the communicant's teeth, which was unthinkable.[2] The Nominalist position allowed only for a spiritual relationship of faith created by the Holy Spirit, in which the physical forms of the sacraments had no spiritual relevance. The important thing for Zwingli was the awareness of faith and the historical fact of Christ's death.[3] The Supper was merely a way of recalling the historical fact,[4] but was not necessary and conveyed no grace.

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[1] *Ibid*., pp. 442ff. *Supra*, pp. 199ff.

[2] H. Zwingli and Heinrich Bullinger, *Zwingli and Bullinger*, ed. G.W. Bromiley, Vol. XXIV of the *Library of Christian Classics* (Philadelphia: The Westminster Press, 1953), p. 131.

The Supper for Zwingli did have certain benefits, but these were all confined to the physical empirical world. There was benefit in observing the Supper because Christ commanded it, and observance showed obedience. It testified to the death of Christ, and stood in stead of the event which it signified. Its importance derived from the fact that it signified something important. It possessed an analogy in that as bread and wine were food and drink for the body, so Christ was food and drink for the soul, and as the bread and wine were made from many grains of wheat and many grapes, so the church was made of many members. One's faith was strengthened through remembering the historical fact, and in the remembering, God's promise was conveyed to men. But there is nothing here which suggests that there was any relation whatsoever between the physical and spiritual in a substantial way.[1]

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[1] _Ibid_., pp. 199-222. In Article Two of "On the Lord's Supper" Zwingli sets forth a lengthy exposition of John 6 which reveals his essential position; also p. 260.

[2] _Ibid_., pp. 181-193.

[3] _Ibid_., pp. 209-212, 258.

[4] _Ibid_., p. 260.

Calvin was more obtuse. He affirmed that there can be no essential relationship between the elements and the substance of the body of Christ, thus removing himself from the camp of Luther and the Romans.[2] He affirmed, though, that the individual Christian could participate in the substance of the body of Christ, and that this participation was necessary. For even as Christ wrought our salvation through human nature, so one received the effects of his work only if he was united with his body and blood. Calvin was able to maintain his position by asserting two points. First, he asserted the Chalcedonian principle, which had enabled the church to maintain that within the person of Jesus Christ there was a hypostatic union of the human and divine, without separation or distinction and without confusion or commingling. So it was in the elements. There is the true body and blood of Christ, but without union or confusion with, and without separation and distinction from, the bread and wine. So also, when the communicant participated, he received Christ into himself, but without union or confusion with, and without separation and distinction from, himself.[1] But this allowed Calvin to be charged by his opponents with the doctrine of ubiquity, which was also leveled against Luther. Thus, Calvin asserted his second point--that of "communicatio idiomatum," the ability of one entity to pass on, and the ability of a second entity to receive and exhibit its properties. Thus, Jesus Christ exhibited the properties of both the divine and the human, in and through each other. Now, the body of Christ was flesh and was, and remains in heaven, and was, thus, not ubiquitous. But his divinity, which exhibited the properties of humanity, was everywhere diffused. Thus, in the elements there was the human body, but in a spiritual manner, because it was borne by divinity.[2]

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[1] Ibid., pp. 262-65.

[2] John Calvin, Calvin: Theological Treatises, ed. and trans. J.K.S. Reid, Vol. XXII of the Library of Christian Classics (Philadelphia: The Westminster Press, 1956), pp. 158f., 168, 176.

Luther also, to escape the charge of ubiquity, used the doctrine of "communicatio idiomatum," but somewhat differently than Calvin. Luther insisted that this doctrine made possible a localized presence in the elements, that it supported his stand for consubstantiation. The "est" in "Hoc est corpus meum" is to be taken literally and thus Christ _is_ present.[3] Calvin felt, however, that Luther had abused the doctrine of "communicatio idiomatum" so that the two natures not only bore the properties of the other, but that they became fused.[1]

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[1] _Ibid._, pp. 146ff., 268, 269f.; John Calvin, _Tracts and Treatises on the Reformation of the Church_, ed. Thomas Torrance (3 vols.; Grand Rapids: William B. Eerdmans), I, pp. xxxf.

[2] Calvin, _Theological Treatises_, XXII, pp. 274f., 289, 311-15.

[3] Luther's emphasis on a localized presence is made frequently. A few references will suffice: Martin Luther, _Luther's Works_, ed. Helmut T. Lehmann (Philadelphia: Muhlenberg Press, 1959), Vol. 36, pp. 29, 35, 294. A concise statement of Luther's position on these points can be found on pp. 337-46.

Calvin, nevertheless, admitted that his construction of the problem was a mystery, which, if it was to mean anything, must be believed. It was, as it were, Christ descending to us in his divinity and lifting our souls to heaven where we spiritually fed upon his body.[2] Analogies were to be found in the Old Testament, where God, in his revelatory activity, took up into himself a human act or event, making of it a sacramental act and a source of revelation. So the act of the Supper was caught up into heaven and the believer was united for a moment with Christ.[3]

Martin Bucer, to whom Luther referred as the "ambidextrous divine," held a position that was very similar to Calvin's. Smyth has dubbed Bucer's position as Suvermerianism and has explained it in this way: Just as there is an emotional reaction from some threat of physical act of force directed toward an individual, so there is a spiritual reaction resulting from the physical act of eating the elements in which Christ is spiritually present.[4] The body and blood of Christ were spiritually present in the elements, just as they were for Calvin, and he who ate and drank in faith received them and their benefits into his soul. It was essentially this position to which Cranmer was converted by Ridley in 1546.

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[1] Ronald Wallace, Calvin's Doctrine of the Word and Sacraments (Edinburgh: Oliver and Boyd, 1953), pp. 229f. Pages 229-33 discuss Calvin's use of this doctrine.

[2] Calvin, Theological Treatises, XXII, pp. 147, 166, 168, 268.

[3] Ronald Wallace. Mr. Wallace presents in his monograph a most lucid treatment of the Calvinistic doctrine of the Sacraments.

[4] C.H. Smyth, Cranmer and the Reformation under Edward VI (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1926), Chap. 2. For a discussion of Smyth's ill choice and incorrect usage of the term, "Suvermerian," see Constantin Hopf, Martin Bucer and the English Reformation (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1946), pp. 35-40.

Lasco was essentially Zwinglian, denying that the elements bore any essential relation to the substance of the body of Christ, and that it was impossible for the Christian to participate in that substance, even should it be present. Like Zwingli, the Christian's contact with the spiritual realm was through the Holy Spirit, which needed no physical channels through which to operate. Once this is understood, his doctrine of the sacraments becomes quite clear.

In his *Epistola ad amicum quendam*, his Nominalist position is clearly stated:

> Since he (Paul) expressly says that we *are*, not that we *become*, one body of Christ, and that on account of the partaking of the one bread, not on account of the distribution of the body, it is evident that in this place he was not thinking at all about the distribution or extension of the body, but wished rather to teach that we who feed on the bread of the Lord in his Supper have also the communion of the bread of the mysteries, that is of the body of Christ: although the bread be one thing, but the bread of the mysteries another, namely, the body of Christ; even as in Israel they who ate the sacrifices had also the communion of the mystery of the sacrifices, although the sacrifices were one thing, but the mysteries of the sacrifices were another, nor were the mysteries in the sacrifices themselves, far less were they offered by the hands. . . . And we call the symbol of the Supper 'sphragidas' with Paul, i.e., the seals of that very communion, which, while we receive them according to the Lord's institution, bring before our eye in a mystery that same communion and renew it in our minds, and seal us wholly in a certain and undoubted faith in it, by the operation of the Holy Spirit, although we place in them no physical or real inclusion of the body or blood of Christ. . . .[1] (Italics mine.)

Here, then, are the two realms of the Nominalist--the physical and the mysterious (spiritual), with no essential relationship between the two. Again, in a letter to Hardenberg, January 29, 1548, concerning the doctrine of the Supper which Hardenberg had expressed in his *Confession*, in which he stated that the communicant received the substance of the body and blood [illegible] Christ, Lasco stated that concerning the elements containing the substance of body and blood, he must use the word of the angel on Easter morn, "He is not here!"[1] The emphasis here was upon a spiritual communion with Christ, and, therefore, with his body and blood, made possible by the Holy Spirit at the time the Supper is observed. He was quite emphatic, however, that nothing of the substance of the body and blood were in the elements. The bread and wine remained bread and wine, and the believer did not handle or eat any substance of body and blood whatsoever.

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[1] Smyth, pp. 184f.

Lasco's definition of faith has already been quoted, in which it was said that faith was the sure awareness of salvation which had been wrought by the Spirit through the word. Being mortal, our faith was weak and needed, from time to time, certain assists. So,

> in order to afford provision against our weakness, God gives us the means by which we strengthen and renew our faith. As such means are to be regarded the preaching of the word and the visible tokens of his grace, whereby he seals in our hearts that which he has promised us by the testimony of the word: two sacraments under the new covenant--baptism and the Supper, corresponding with circumcision and the paschal meal under the old covenant.[2]

The Supper, then, was an assist to faith, strengthening us by our spiritual communion with Christ, but no more important to this task than preaching, which was Zwingli's position exactly, for he held that any assist to faith was valid, whether it be preaching, sacraments, prayer, Scripture reading, or hymn singing.

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[1] Bernhard Spiegel, *D. Albert Rizäus Hardenberg* (Bremen: C. Edward Muller, 1869), p. 127.

[2] Smyth, p. 183.

In the Catechism Lasco advanced three reasons for the sacraments having been provided: (a) for the strengthening of our faith, (b) as an admonishment to lead a better life, (c) as a public characteristic and declaration that the group observing them was God's people.[1] Under the first reason, Lasco stated that the sacraments, in strengthening faith, testified to God's grace, which meant that they did not convey grace; also, that they were God's pledge of the Christian's communion and union with Christ and the church, which indicated that the communion with Christ was possessed by the Christian before he participated in the Supper, the Supper adding nothing except confirmation of the fact. Thus, the statement, January 23, 1545, in a letter to Hardenberg, "For if the communion of the body and blood of Christ is so given to us in the Supper, that does not then begin, but was also ours before taking the Supper."[2]

Baptism was interpreted according to these three reasons: (a) it strengthened our faith by pledging the forgiveness of God, which the Christians witnessing the event already possessed; (b) it encouraged us to obey the commands of God; (c) it brought together and distinguished all who were members of the New Covenant. The Supper was similarly treated. It (a) strengthened faith by representing the communion of the body and blood of Christ, (b) it motivated us to maintaining this communion in doctrine and morals, and (c) it distinguished the Church from the other gatherings of men.

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[1] Kuyper, II, p. 458. Supra, p. 209.

[2] Smyth, p. 186.

Lasco, separating the two spheres of the world and spirit, and basing his interpretation on a passage from St. Chrysostom's Homilies on the Gospel of Matthew, saw in the sacred acts of both the Old and New Testaments, the physical act which man performed and the spiritual counterpart (mysterium) for which God was responsible. The sacrifices in Israel were men's acts, yet there was with them the "mysterium" in which sin was forgiven. So in the sacraments of the church. There were the physical acts of baptism and the Supper which men performed, but there was also in the realm of the spirit the mystery of God's actions and promises which were mediated, not through man's performing of the act, but through the Holy Spirit who needed no particular channel. The reason behind man's performance was that God had chosen these particular ceremonies to symbolize what he has done, and because they were commanded, man must perform them upon pain of losing salvation. Mere performance did not in any way, however, guarantee salvation.

Lasco was original at two points. He placed his entire emphasis upon "obsignare," to seal. Calvin and Zwingli had both used this term, but Lasco made it central to his doctrine. To seal was to make effective, or valid, as when the stamp of a magistrate was placed on some official document, or the signature of a witness was placed upon a will. Through the operation of the Spirit, the promises of God were sealed in man's heart and soul when the sacraments were performed. Through this sealing of the promises, man's faith was strengthened. Mere performance did not, however, guarantee the operation of the Spirit. All of the reformers spoke of the communion of, or eating and drinking of the body of Christ, resulting in much confusion. But when Lasco used these terms, he used them in connection with the sealing of the promises, for one of promises, indeed, was the communion with Christ.

Thus, the communion was sealed, validated, and made effective in us through the Spirit.[1]

The other point of originality was in his emphasis on the use of the Supper. While others talked of the problem of the elements, Lasco spoke of the use, or the entire action of the Supper. In the words of institution, the "Hoc est," referred not to the elements, but to the whole observance. Paul's words, I Corinthians 10:16, also attested to this, "The bread, which we break, is it not the communion of the body of Christ?" Again, not the bread, but its breaking; the entire Supper was important. This emphasis on the use freed him from quarreling with others about how, or whether, the body and blood were localized in the elements. "Regarding the mode of his presence, we do not cause ourselves any inquietude; we must only, so long as the opinions of learned men differ with regard thereto, refrain from all curious research before the people, because it suffices us to have Christ."[2] Indeed, it is doubtful if Lasco ever engaged in any inquietude concerning the imponderables of religion. His empirical approach ruled out such speculation.

C. Lasco's Influence in England

There are four areas, besides the Vestment controversy, in which the influence of Lasco may have been felt: the revision of ecclesiastical laws, the compilation of the Forty Two Articles, the revision of the second Book of Common Prayer, and Cranmer's view of the Lord's Supper. His influence in these areas is not able to be absolutely determined, and, thus, there is no unanimity among scholars as to exactly what Lasco's part was in the reformation under Edward. The conclusions arrived at by scholars very often reflect their own confessional positions, which may indeed also be the case here.

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[1] Kuyper, II, p. 468. Supra, p. 216.

[2] Hermann Dalton, Johannes A'Lasco Beitrag zur Reformationsgeschichte Polens, Deutschlands und Englands (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1881), Part I, "John a Lasco, His Earlier Life and Labors," trans. J.H. Evans (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1886), p. 321.

1. The Reform of Ecclesiastical Laws

The question of reforming the laws of the church that they might conform to the practices and theology of the reformed church was conceived and attempted three times during the reign of Henry VIII, once in 1534, again in 1536, and again in 1544, with the Crown frustrating its becoming a reality. In November, 1549, Cranmer again raised the subject with Parliament, and on January 31, 1550, Lords passed a bill establishing a commission of thirty-two persons to carry out the proposed reform. This bill, being similar to the others which had only resulted in delay, was opposed by Cranmer, and the bishops Tunstall of Durham, Goodrich of Ely, Aldrich of Carlyle, Heath of Worcester, Thirlby of Westminster, Day of Chichester, Holbeach of Lincoln, Ridley of Rochester, and Ferrar of St. David's. Nonetheless, Commons also passed it. Three years was the time alloted for the task. Nothing was done, however, for nearly two years. On October 6, 1551 (not 1552 as in Gairdner)[1] a commission of thirty-two was appointed, consisting of eight bishops, eight divines, eight civil lawyers, and eight common lawyers.[1] The names represent the various shades of opinion concerning reform which then existed. For example, there were the conservatives--Ridley of London, and Goodrich of Ely; the radicals--Hooper of Gloucester, and Lasco; and occupying a middle position were Latimer and Martyr. Two weeks and a day later, eight of the thirty-two were appointed to rough hew the material before it was undertaken by the entire group. Lasco was not among them. When the list of eight was revised on November 11, Lasco again was not among them. The revised list contained the names of Cranmer, Martyr, Cox, May, Taylor, Lucas, Goodrich, and Thomas of Ely.

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[1] James Gairdner, The English Church in the Sixteenth Century from the Accession of Henry VIII to the Death of Mary (London: Macmillan and Co. Ltd., 1902), p. 300.

From this point, little that is definite can be said, except that the eight did meet, that the material was rough hewn, and that the full complement of persons appointed for the task met to consider it, passing their judgement upon it. However, even this is disputed by some. Gairdner maintains that the entire group of thirty-two never worked on the document, but met only to adopt that which the eight had done.[2] Cardwell attempts to make a case for the document being the work of only Cranmer and Martyr. Strype, he says, is wrong in asserting that the thirty-two persons were ever named at all, and they, therefore, could never have had any influence in the final outcome of the project. If this is true, then Lasco had no part in it. Cardwell bases his conclusion upon the reading of the Royal Commission of November 11, 1551 which revised the list of the eight persons responsible for framing the project. In the reading of this, it is apparent, he says, that the thirty-two were not yet appointed and, subsequently, never were. Hence, the reason for this particular commission. However, I think that Cardwell's reading of the Latin does not justify his conclusion, which reading simply says that the eight are to make an initial beginning in the "first form and straightening of the project," just as if it had been entrusted to the larger group.[1] Strype's correctness at this point is borne out by the fact that there are references to both the appointment and meetings of the Commission. Ralph Skinner has referred to its appointment,[2] as well as Edward himself, in his Journal for February 10, 1552.[3] Ab Ulmis (who says that the Commission had begun to meet on December 12, 1551 and that Skinner was among those meeting [Since Skinner was not one of the eight, this implies that the entire thirty-two were in session]), Martyr, Micronius (who states that Ridley and Goodrich were opposing Lasco and Hooper in the meetings), and

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[1] John Strype, Memorials of Archbishop Cranmer (3 vols.; Oxford: T. Combe, 1848), II, pp. 361ff.

[2] Gairdner, p. 300.

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[1] *Reformatio Legum Ecclesiasticarum, ex Authoritate primum Regis Henrici. 8 inchoata: Deinde per Regem Edouardum 6. prouecta adauctaq; in hunc modum, atq; nunc ad pleniorum ipsarum reformationem in lucem aedita. Londini*, ed. Edward Cardwell (Oxford: University Press, 1850), p. viiff.

[2] *Original Letters Relative to the English Reformation written during the Reigns of King Henry VIII, King Edward VI, and Queen Mary: Chiefly from the Archives of Zurich*, Parker Society Publications, ed. Hastings Robinson (2 vols.; Cambridge: University Press, 1846), p. 314.

[3] Gilbert Burnet, *The History of the Reformation of the Church of England* (4 vols.; London: Scott, Webster, and Geary, 1837), IV, p. 227.

Utenhove refer to its meeting.[1] Thus, Gairdner and Cardwell are in error in supposing that the Commission never met, or met only to give their assent.

Dalton has attempted to trace Lasco's influence in the document, but with little success, finding only that the thirtieth article on excommunication is "composed entirely in his spirit," and that the third article, pertaining to the treatment of heretics, is similar to his procedures in Emden.[2] It might also be said that Lasco's influence is seen in the reference in the fifth article pertaining to the Sacraments, in which a reference is made to sitting when receiving the Supper.[3]

On February 2, 1552, Parliament gave the Commission three years more time, but even had they needed it, fate decreed otherwise. Strype says,

> But the work which was the only outcome of the project, the Reformatio Legum Ecclesiasticarum, must have been composed before this time: and whatever more may have been mediated by Cranmer and his fellows, it was swallowed in the swiftly gathering storm that swept them from their place.[4]

Elizabeth's first parliament introduced the document, but it was passed only in Commons. Parker, after some years, revived it, and John Foxe published it for him in April of 1571. However, it never received official sanction and never exerted any great influence.

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[1] O. L., pp. 444, 447, 503f., 580, 589f.

[2] Dalton, pp. 361f.

[3] Reformatio Legum Ecclesiasticarum . . ., p. 31.

[4] R.W. Dixon, History of the Church of England from Abolition of the Roman Jurisdiction (6 vold.; London: George Routledge and Sons, 1885), III, p. 440.

2. The Forty Two Articles

The only reason for including the Forty Two Articles in the discussion is that there are several references to the possibility that the Articles were drawn up by the same Commission of thirty-two who worked on the Reformatio Legum Ecclesiasticarum. Smyth, Dixon, and Wakeman have all suggested this.[1] Smyth suggests that many of Edward's commissions in the realm of ecclesiastical matters were composed of many of the same men and that therefore a majority of the thirty-two probably had a hand in the framing of the Articles. This examination of the members of the various commissions, along with the general statements of ab Ulmis about "the excellent and learned men who are to deliberate and consult about a proper moral discipline and the purity of doctrine," and Martyr's part in the "framing of ecclesiastical laws" (which statements probably refer to the meetings of the Commission for the Reformatio Legum Ecclesiasticarum),[2] are the only evidence we have of the connection of the thirty-two with the Articles. If this evidence carries any weight (and it carries little, I think), then Lasco did have some part as one member of the Commission. Even though the various commissions had many of the same men on them, the Royal Commission to the eight, November 11, 1551, deemed thirty-two too large a group, at least for the initial work. It is doubtful if so large a group was again assembled, which would lessen Lasco's chances for inclusion.

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[1] Smyth, pp. 250ff; Dixon, III, p. 382; H.O Wakeman, An Introduction to the History of the Church of England (8th ed.; London: Rivingtons, 1914), p. 289.

[2] O. L., pp. 444, 447.

It is more generally assumed that the Articles are primarily the work of Cranmer himself. Hardwicke says that a draft of the Articles appeared as early as 1549.[1] Hooper, in two letters to Bullinger, made reference to "some articles of religion, to which all preachers and lecturers in divinity are required to subscribe. . . ."[2] The letters are from December, 1549 and February, 1550. In 1551 the Privy Council asked that Cranmer prepare a set of articles, which he did, submitting it to the Convocation. This, perhaps, was a revision of, or even the same articles which Hooper mentioned. In May of 1552, the Council asked him for the draft, which he sent, but not until September. The Council sent them on to the four Royal Chaplains and two other divines, one of whom was Knox. Knox objected to the statement that the services of the second Book of Common Prayer could be proved from Scripture, and to the position of kneeling at the reception of the Sacrament. In November, the draft was returned to Cranmer who returned it the following day to the Council with his revisions. It was not published until June, 1553, and then with additional changes which reduced the articles from forty-five to forty-two. Within this generally accepted framework, there seems to be little place for the influence of Lasco, or for any of the other foreign divines, for that matter.

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[1] Charles Hardwicke, A History of the Articles of Religion (London: George Bell and Sons, 1890), p. 71.

[2] O. L., pp. 71, 76.

3. The Revision of the Book of Common Prayer

The *Book of Common Prayer* of 1549 was unsatisfactory for a number of reasons. Both Bucer and Gardiner, for example, could agree with its statement of the doctrine of the Supper. It still contained those elements which were considered to be Roman by the Reformed group in England, such as altars, kneeling at the Supper, the use of candles, and prayers for the dead. It is also quite probable that Cranmer wished to formulate a service book which would serve as a basis of unity for divided Protestantism, and, therefore, desired a revision of the first Book. The sacramentarian tone of the second Book may very well be due to the concessions made by Cranmer to the more radical reform elements in the hope of achieving unity. Rather than enumerating the various and sometimes lengthy changes in the second Book, it need only be said that it was quite sacramentarian in tone, reflecting the influences of Geneva and Zurich.

As for the author, or authors, of the second Book, we can only conjecture. The records of the Convocation were lost in the London fire in 1566, and certainty is not to be had, with the authorship of the second Book being even more obscure than that of the first. Dixon, and Smyth, following his lead, conjecture that the revision can be attributed, as with the Forty Two Articles, to the thirty-two reformers of the ecclesiastical laws.[1] Wakeman suggests that after the Convocation of 1550 had turned a deaf ear to Cranmer's plea of revision, he took the task upon himself, enlisting the aid of Bucer, Martyr, the Archbishop of York, and the bishops of London and Ely. Wakeman's thesis, with so little positive evidence, seems the more probable.

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[1] Dixon, III, pp. 249f.; Smyth, p. 250.

Did Lasco, then, have any influence on the revision? In a general way, yes; for the Book bears many imprints of Swiss Protestantism, and it can be said with certainty that Lasco, as well as Bucer and Martyr, contributed to its sacramentarian tone. However, it must be remembered that Swiss Protestantism was gaining adherents in Britain. Ridley is an example. Northumberland was committed to it and Hooper was made, in May of 1552, bishop of Worcester. Knox was acquiring a place of increasing importance, and was celebrating with impunity the Supper in his congregation at Berwick according to his own devices, rather than following the first Book of Common Prayer and in violation of the Act of Uniformity. Therefore, the sacramentarian tone of the second Book is to be attributed to several causes and sources, of which Lasco would be only one. Yet, it cannot be disputed that Lasco and Cranmer were close friends, with Lasco often spending time with him at Lambeth and Croydon, consulting with him about the problems of the Strangers' Churches, and writing to him concerning various theological questions, not the least of which was that of kneeling at the Supper. The preface to the reprint of the first and second Prayer Books of Edward attributes the sacramentarian tone of the second Book to Lasco.[1] However, the indication is that Lasco did not have the influence on the second

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[1] The First and Second Prayer Books of King Edward the Sixth, ed. Edgar, C.S. Gloucester (London: J.M. Dent and Sons Ltd., no date), p. xiii.

Book that he desired, for in the closing months of his residence in England, he wrote the Forma ac Ratio partly as a protest against the elements of the Book which were yet of Roman coloring, or were not expressly enjoined by Scripture, for, as we have seen, there was no place in Lasco's thought for adiaphora. So, even the second Book is not a complete capitulation by Cranmer to Hooper, Lasco, and their company.

This was the conclusion of the Rivingtons who saw Cranmer as the only bulwark against the Zurich reformers, for even Edward and his advisors would have preferred Lasco's liturgy to the second Book. Further, "if Bucer and Martyr . . . were content to suggest alterations in the liturgy, a third stranger was not wanting to produce a totally new one, and organize a church, which Laud appropriately called, 'a Goshen in Egypt,' for our discontented spirits."[1]

There was one point which Lasco may have influenced, and that negatively. Since he had been a resident in England he had contended for the practice of sitting at the reception of the Supper, since this position symbolized our rest in Christ, and since kneeling implied the adoration of the bread and wine which, according to Roman and Lutheran doctrine, were actually the body and blood of Christ. Neither the first nor second Books had stipulated any position, since kneeling was assumed. At about the time the second Book was being issued, September and October, 1552, Knox had begun to enveigh against the practice of kneeling, preaching before young Edward upon the subject. Just what support Lasco gave Knox is not known, but it can be correctly assumed that he did more than watch with interest this attempt to eliminate the "popish practise." For some days Cranmer wrestled with the problem of whether to include specific instructions for kneeling, or whether to ignore the issue. At the last moment, October 27, 1552, just three days before the Book was due to be used, he ordered the printer, Grafton, to insert the Black Rubric, which specified kneeling at the reception of the Supper but which explicitly stated that kneeling did not mean adoration of the host, since the bread and wine were in no way changed, and the body of Christ remained in heaven.

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[1] British Magazine and Monthly Register of Religious and Ecclesiastical Information (London: J.G. and F. Rivington, 1839), XV, pp. 613f.

Attempts have been made to uncover specific literary influences, but with little success. The liturgies of Calvin, Poullain, and Lasco have all been examined with a view toward finding parallels in the second Book, and a few minor ones have been uncovered. The penitential introduction to the service has been thought to be derived from Calvin, or from Poullain's Latin version of the Strassburg service.[1] The recitation of the Decalogue in the Communion service certainly was an influence from the Reformed tradition. Cardwell and Proctor have found phrases in Lasco's Forma ac Ratio which are quite similar to the forms of Confession and Absolution in the second Book.[2] However, Proctor and

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[1] Dixon, p. 493, note.

[2] Francis Proctor, A New History of the Book of Common Prayer, with a rationale of its offices, revised and rewritten by W.H. Frere (London: Macmillan and Co. Ltd., 1905), p. 89; E.E. Cardwell, The Two Liturgies of Edward the Sixth (Oxford: University Press, 1838), p. xxxii, note.

Frere tend to deny these influences with the argument that neither Poullain's nor Lasco's liturgies were original and that any influence is "collateral, not lineal."[1] Brightman has, at some length, though most convincingly, refuted Cardwell's attempt to pinpoint certain phrases as having come from Lasco.[2] It is not very probable, then, that Lasco had any greater influence or any more specific influence than did any of the other persons, or factors, involved in the revision.

4. Cranmer and the Doctrine of the Supper

This is a much debated question, and the responsibility for the diversity of opinion must lay with Cranmer himself, who was quite prolix and not at all lucid in his treatment of the sacraments. That his theology changed is the only point on which scholars are in agreement. The change from what to what, when, under the influence of whom, and how often, are all debatable matters.

For our concern, the year 1548 is of first importance, for it was in the fall of this year that Lasco arrived in England to spend the winter with the Archbishop at Lambeth. During this winter Cranmer underwent a change of opinion concerning the sacrament of the Supper, and the questions that arise are: which doctrine did he abandon; which did he espouse; and was Lasco responsible? Our chief informant is the young ab Ulmis who wrote to Bullinger, November 27, 1548, that the "abominable error and silly opinion of a carnal eating" has been eliminated. "Even that Thomas himself, about whom I wrote to you when I was in London, by the goodness of God and the instrumentality of that most upright and judicious man, master John a Lasco, is in a great measure recovered from his dangerous lethargy."[1]

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[1] Francis Proctor and Walter Howard Frere, A New History of the Book of Common Prayer (London: Macmillan and Co. Ltd., 1919), p. 90.

[2] F.E. Brightman, The English Rite, being a synopsis of the sources and revisions of the Book of Common Prayer (2 vols.; London: Rivingtons, 1915), pp. clvi-clxv.

The reliability of the reporting of ab Ulmis has been both supported and questioned. Hardwicke, and Gasquet and Bishop accept him as being reliable.[2] Jenkyns accepts his reliability as to the time of change in Cranmer's viewpoint, but contends that he is mistaken concerning the person to whom the change was due.[3] Ridley, Cranmer's most recent biographer, rejects the testimony of ab Ulmis, because he was "a gossip," his information was often wrong, and he was not in a position to know the facts; thus, his letter is "not of great value."[4]

From what and to what was Cranmer converted in 1548? Hardwicke believes him to have changed from Lutheranism to Calvinism.[5] Gasquet and Bishop, from Lutheranism to Zwinglianism.[6] Slade believes him to only have been "confirmed" in his "Ratramnian" views to which Ridley had converted him two years before, the confirmation being due to Lasco.[1] Ridley has attempted a detailed examination of Cranmer's position which pictures him as not holding consistently to any position and sometimes being self-deceived. Ridley's presentation is interesting in view of Smyth's construction stated below. Ridley says that Cranmer abandoned transubstantiation in 1538 and became a Lutheran. With the adoption of the Six Articles in 1539, he repudiated Lutheranism and again adopted transubstantiation. In 1546, in his discussions with Ridley, he was led to a sacramentarian position. When Henry VIII died in 1547, Cranmer again adopted a doctrine of the Real Presence, probably Lutheranism, since this was the official position of the land and church, and since he felt that young Edward was not competent to proclaim otherwise. His translation of Jonas' Catechism in June of 1548 upheld the Lutheran viewpoint. However, in the debate on the Supper in the House of Lords, December, 1548, he was again defending his sacramentarian position of 1546. His change of opinion was due, not to Lasco, but to the changing views of the nobility, including Somerset and Warwick. Cranmer now felt he could again hold this position without encouraging heresy. In 1550 he published the Defence of the True and Catholic Doctrine of the Sacrament, in which he espoused a sacramentarian position, which "fell short of the extreme sacramental position, and of that of Zwingli, and it may even have fallen short of the modified Zwinglianism of Bullinger and Hooper and their followers; but it went as far as the doctrines of Peter Martyr, farther than those of Bucer, and far beyond Lutheranism."[1] The next year, in his answers to Gardiner and Smyth, he denied that he had ever taught Lutheranism in his translation of Jonas' Catechism.[2]

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[1] O. L., p. 383.

[2] Hardwicke, p. 67; F.A. Gasquet and Edmund Bishop, Edward VI and the Book of Common Prayer (London: John Hodges, 1890), p. 173, note.

[3] Henry Jenkyns, The Remains of Thomas Cranmer (4 vols.; Oxford: University Press, 1833), I, p. lxxx.

[4] Jasper Ridley, Thomas Cranmer (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1962), p. 284.

[5] Hardwicke, p. 67.

[6] Gasquet and Bishop, p. 173.

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[1] M.W. Slade, "John a Lasco and the English Reformation," (unpublished thesis for the Master of Arts degree, University of Bristol, England, 1957), p. 82.

In contrast to this construction of Cranmer's views is that of Smyth, who presents Cranmer as being much more consistent and unvarying than does Ridley. Cranmer, according to Smyth, held to the doctrine of transubstantiation until his discussions with Ridley in 1546 when he was converted to "Suvermerianism." He then held to this position throughout the remainder of his life, though he modified his view somewhat because of Lasco's influence. Thus, he was never Lutheran, and his translation of Jonas' Catechism was edited so that the Lutheran elements pertaining to the Supper were changed to teach "Suvermerianism." Neither was he Zwinglian, despite the various references in the letters of ab Ulmis, Hooper, Micronius, and Burcher. Neither did he waver from one opinion to another, but remained consistently "Suvermerian."[3] We have already looked at Smyth's definition of Suvermerianism and its similarity to the positions of Calvin and Bucer.

Lasco's influence on Cranmer, according to Smyth, was not that he converted him to Zwinglianism, but rather that he influenced him at the point of the "use" of the Supper. Until now, 1548, Cranmer, with all other reformers, had located the Presence, or the lack of it, in the elements of bread and wine. Lasco, as has been said, thought in terms of the entire action of the Supper, or the use made of it by the congregation, and in this the presence of Christ was in a spiritual way through the Holy Spirit. So Cranmer held, after 1548, that Christ was spiritually present in the administration of the Supper and was spiritually received by those in whom he was already present.

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[1] Ridley, p. 279.

[2] Ridley, Chaps. 16, 18, 21.

[3] Smyth, Chap. 2. Smyth has presented a most convincing and scholarly argument which certainly vindicated Cranmer of vacillation, of lack of courage, and of being influenced by every wind that blew.

One more voice, though, needs to be heard--that of C.C. Richardson[1] who agrees with Smyth that Cranmer was converted in 1546 by Ridley from transubstantiation to "Suvermerianism." However, he contends that from the time of the debate in the House of Lords, Cranmer was Zwinglian. Using the Nominalist positions that (a) the physical bears no essential relationship with the spiritual, and (b) one individual entity cannot participate in the substance of another individual entity, Richardson quite convincingly shows that Cranmer, by holding a Nominalist position, advocated an essentially Zwinglian view of the Supper, but with Lasco's emphasis on the administration or use. The bread and wine remain bread and wine, evil men receive only bread and wine, while the faithful in whom Christ is already present spiritually feed upon him, or commune with him, in the administration of the Supper, but not necessarily by eating and drinking the elements. This change in Cranmer in 1548 can be better attributed to Lasco than to any other. The difference between

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[1] C.C. Richardson, Zwingli and Cranmer on the Eucharist (Evanston, Illinois: Seabury-Western Theological Seminary, 1949)

Cranmer and Bucer and Calvin, and his similarity to Zwingli, can be seen in the way in which the four men use the analogy of the sun and its rays. Bucer and Calvin held that the rays of the sun, though distant from it, nevertheless, participated in the substance of the sun. Cranmer and Zwingli both used the analogy to show that while the sun was in one place in its substance, yet by its rays it was present in its power and light. So Calvin and Bucer insisted that the Christian, in the Supper, participated in the substance of the body and blood of Christ, albeit spiritually. Cranmer and Zwingli held that the Christian could not participate in his body and blood since they were in heaven, but participated only in his benefits, provided by the sacrifice of his body and blood.

Yet, it must be said, that Cranmer never held the Supper to be a mere memorial as Zwingli did. Perhaps Lasco's emphasis on the "use" kept him from this. For Zwingli, the Supper was something which man did to strengthen his faith through a mental and empirical reminder. Cranmer saw the Supper as that which was used by God. The Holy Spirit worked through the breaking of the bread and the drinking of the wine, using them as instruments to strengthen the believer's faith and to impart the benefits of Christ's death. The Supper was no "vain or bare token," no "painted fire which giveth neither light nor heat."[1] The sacrament was an effectual sign of grace, but of a grace which had already been received.

Two passages will indicate what Cranmer meant when he spoke of eating the body of Christ, its location, its relation to the bread and wine, and the "use" of the Supper. From his debate in Lords, December 14, 1548, these words,

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[1] *Ibid.*, p. 34.

> There be two things, to eat the sacrament and to eat the body of Christ. [The two realms of the Nominalist] The eating of the body is to dwell in Christ, and this may be though a man never taste the sacrament. . . . [One substance cannot participate in another; the physical does not convey the spiritual.] Our faith is not to believe him to be in the bread and wine, but that he is in heaven. . . . I believe that Christ is eaten with the heart. . . .Eating with the mouth giveth nothing to no man, nor the body being in the bread. . . . For Christ when he bids us eat his body is figurative, for we cannot eat his body indeed. . . . St. Paul said, 'Panis quem frangimus est communicatio corporis.' Even so, Christ, when he said, 'This is my body,' meant communionem corporis. . . . It was natural bread, but now no common bread, for it is separated to another use. Because of the use it may be called the bread of life. That which you see is bread and wine. But that which you believe is the body of Christ.[1]

From his Answer to a Crafty and Sophistical Cavillation devised by Stephen Gardiner,

> . . . if you be pleased to understand my words rightly, there is no repugnance in my words at all. For by this word 'there' I mean not in the sacraments of bread and wine, but in the ministration of the sacrament, [Lasco's emphasis] as the old authors for the most part, when they speak of the presence of Christ in the sacrament, they mean in the ministration of the sacrament. . . . I say that Christ is but spiritually in the ministration of the sacrament. . . .[2]

That Richardson's analysis of Cranmer's views is correct, is acknowledged by Bayard H. Jones, author of Prayer Book Studies, The Eucharistic Liturgy. "Recent studies do in fact substantiate the fact that Cranmer was indeed in agreement with Zwingli's beliefs on the

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[1] Smyth, Chap. 2.

[2] Thomas Cranmer, The Works of Thomas Cranmer, Archbishop of Canterbury, ed. J.E. Cox (Cambridge: Parker Society Publication, 1844-46), p. 74.

Eucharist."[1] He then proceeds to cite Richardson as a source.[2] Jones is emphatic, however, that though Cranmer's opinions "certainly were theologically defective, and may be conceded to have been heretical," nevertheless, they did not find their way into either of the first two Prayer Books.[3]

Influences are difficult to trace, yet, the effort must be made. To trace the influence of Lasco in any one of the aforementioned areas is a task large enough for a monograph. So far as the Supper is concerned, Smyth, supplemented by Richardson, presents the best and most convincing treatment of Cranmer and Lasco that I have come across. Whether or not Lasco had any influence at any other point, if he moved Cranmer toward his own doctrine of the Supper, then, perhaps, it was enough.

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[1] Bayard H. Jones, Prayer Book Studies, IV, The Eucharistic Liturgy (Church Pension Fund, The Protestant Episcopal Church, 1953), p. 49.

[2] Ibid., p. 51.

[3] Ibid., p. 71.

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